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ABSTRACT

The document contains a variety of papers that examine the linkages between local concerns and global concerns and explore alternative world futures. An introductory article, "Securing the Human," discusses how the world community needs to develop adequate means to deal with crimes against humans. These means include sound analysis, spiritual awareness, moral sanctions, early-warning systems, and strengthened legal and juridical systems. In another article entitled "The Human Image" the author points out that fundamentally important as justice may be, it is secondary to an absolute respect for the human person as an inviolate mystery. Further, a society is anti-human if it denies to a single human being the basic means to bare subsistence, plus the freedom which enables her or him to attain both the completion and goal of her or his life cycle. In the paper "Latin America and the National Security State," the author describes one form the National Security State can take. It is a very dangerous and oppressive form and it is not unique to Latin American countries. Some African and Asian countries are also experiencing it in their own variations. Another author, in "A Genocide Early Warning System," discusses how he tried to understand how human beings could have committed the terrible acts of the Holocaust. The developing field of serious scholarly study called world criminology is examined in "A World Order Approach to Criminology." The last two papers in the monograph discuss the topics of "The Coming of International Law and Order" and "UN Reform: The Task Ahead." (Author/RM)

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THE WHOLE EARTH PAPERS

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How do we deal with crimes against the human:
genocide?
crimes against humanity?
acts of aggression?
war crimes?
human rights violations?
crimes against peace and security?

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SECURING THE HUMAN:

The Journey Toward World Law and Justice

THE WHOLE EARTH PAPERS

realistic

The Whole Earth Papers rise out of the reality of depth concerns in the human community - urgent world order concerns of human dignity, well being, freedom and survival. Grounded in realpolitik, the papers will examine the linkages between local concerns and global forces. They will also explore immediate, intermediate and long range strategies for citizen action in developing a humanizing world order.

holistic

The Whole Earth Papers attempt to be *holistic*. They suggest that both systemic change and spiritual and moral growth are essential to the development of a more fully human order. Full human development will be realized to the degree that personal insight and systemic change develop as an integrated whole.

provolutionary

A healthy movement into the future will be "provolutionary" rather than "revolutionary." That is, a truly "new" human order will be marked not by one system of oppression replacing another, nor simply by substituting one leader for another. Rather, "provolutionary" change will be marked by an ascent of consciousness and paradigm shifts, by human spiritual and ethical development, and by institutional change that provides to all peoples access to the means to fuller human development.

History is shaped by the nature of a society's values and vision of the future. Decisions are made and events affected by powerful images of anticipated and preferred futures. In an age of despair and alienation, *The Whole Earth Papers* dare to embrace and move toward alternatives imbued with values that flow from the following sources:

1. An affirmation of the sacredness of all life forms and the intrinsic order and integrity of the universe.
2. A confidence in the human person and the human capacity to surmount difficulties.
3. A reading of the signs of the times not only as crises of breakdown, but also breakthrough in advancing the human community.

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Whether or not we can secure and advance the human, may well depend on whether we are prepared to take the next heroic step in our evolutionary journey . . .

SECURING THE HUMAN

BY PATRICIA MISCHE

The development of a more human world order is not an end in itself — not some kind of art for art's sake or intellectual exercise in utopian model building. For the authors in this issue of *The Whole Earth Papers,* the starting point, end point and each step along the way in the journey toward a more human world order is directed toward one integral goal: *the securing of the human.*

It is the premise of these writers that at least four activities should be recognized as criminal acts of the greatest magnitude, namely activities which:

1. threaten the sovereignty, dignity and rights of the human person;

2. deny persons or societies the right to food, shelter, a safe environment and other means to full human development;

3. threaten the existence or well-being of diverse cultures;

4. ultimately threaten the human species with extinction.

In this context of very real dangers to human survival, rights and freedoms, efforts for a more just world order are the ultimate realism. The realist knows that there is a shadow side to human nature and that we must secure ourselves against our own follies and tragic flaws.

The world community — out of the pragmatic necessity of ensuring its own survival — needs to develop adequate means to deal with crimes against the human. These means include sound analysis, spiritual awareness, moral sanctions, early-warning systems and strengthened international legal and juridical systems.

In his book on animal behavior, *King Solomon's Ring,* Konrad Lorenz provides a prototype for the tasks ahead. His final chapter, entitled "Morals and Weapons," describes the instinctive safeguards that wolves have evolved as a check against abuse of their destructive powers.

The fangs of a wolf provide means to food and sustenance. But they are also deadly weapons in a contest for power with another wolf. In the unchecked use of these "weapons" against others of their species, wolves could bring about their own extinction. However, nature has provided a safeguard. If two wolves are in a teeth-bared battle and one wolf wishes to end the conflict, it exposes its jugular vein to the attacking opponent. At this signal, the other wolf will cease fighting — even if its treacherous teeth have been ready to sink into the throat of its opponent.

Lorenz goes on to describe how many other predators who have biologically evolved destructive weapons — whether these are teeth, beaks, claws or poisonous fangs — have also evolved a parallel "social inhibition to prevent a usage of these weapons in ways which could endanger the existence of the species." In other words, the weapons these predators have evolved in their bodies have been conjointly molded by nature with a commensurate and carefully computed set of inhibitions and impulses to self-regulate their use for the sake of the species survival.

It is as if wolves and other predators "know" their destructive capacity and have learned to hold it in check. They have learned how to "secure the wolf." They instinctively know how to protect themselves from species destruction by preventing application of their weapons against themselves.

And what of humans? We are at that point when we have developed tremendous destructive capacity. Our weapons are capable not only of destroying our entire species but of destroying the life sustaining capacities of the planet. We have manifest our capacity for participation in or allowing the genocidal destruction of whole cultures and millions of people in violations of human rights. We have unprecedented powers over life and death. But, unlike the wolf, we have not developed mechanisms and inhibitions to hold it in check. We have not learned how to "secure the human."

Lorenz describes human vulnerability this way:

> ". . . there is only one being in possession of weapons which do not grow on his body and of whose working plan, therefore, the instincts of his species know nothing and in the usage of which he has no correspondingly adequate inhibition. That being is man. With unarrested growth his weapons increase in monstrousness, multiplying horribly within a few decades. But innate impulses and inhibitions, like bodily structures, need time for their development, time on a scale in which geologists and astronomers are accustomed to calculate, and not historians. We did not receive our weapons from nature. We made them ourselves, of our own free will. Which is going to be easier for us in the future, the production of the weapons or the engendering of the feeling of responsibility that should go along with them, the inhibitions without which our race must perish by virtue of its own creations? We must build up these inhibitions purposefully for we cannot rely upon our instincts."

That is what this issue of *The Whole Earth Papers* is about: how we might "purposefully develop inhibitions against the destructive uses of human power."

Our weapons were not created by nature but were inventions of our own minds and hearts turned against ourselves. The social inhibitions we evolve can come from the same source. We can also invent — through re-awakened and deepened minds and hearts — the spiritual, moral and legal inhibitions necessary to ensure human survival and fuller human realization.

Free To Choose

We are creatures of free choice. We are capable of imagining and computing the alternatives before us. We can choose species annihilation or species survival and enhancement. If we have not developed instinctively or genetically the necessary inhibitions for safeguarding life, we can develop them by choice.

We are capable of empathy. We can feel with the other — even another we have never seen — the pain of torture, deprivation, hunger and fear. We are capable of the compassion necessary to reverse or inhibit the behavior, whether on the part of individuals or nations, that produces this pain.

We have inner eyes. We are capable of seeing our own shadow side. And, having seen, we can create in ourselves and in the global community the necessary insight, moral sanctions and legal structures to secure the human against victimization and extinction. We can create a context in which fuller humanization can flourish.

In this issue the authors not only decry violations of the human by governments against their citizenry and crimes of individuals or groups against humanity or the planet, but they also undertake an exploration of spiritual, philosophic, moral, educational and pragmatic legal and juridical steps to securing the human.

It is one of their common working assumptions that in an era of increasing global interdependence where internation tensions are mounting over resources and fragile economies — and with increasingly dangerous and far-reaching weapons available to governments, terrorists or madmen — traditional claims of national sovereignty or heavy investments in territorial defense systems offer little or no real protection.

An Evolutionary Choice

We are entering the adult phase of human existence. With new powers over life and death, a new maturity is demanded of us — a maturity of vision and a maturity of individual and planetary behavior.

We are entering a global age, when old national visions and systems erected for a bygone era are no longer adequate for the new global interdependencies, multi-national economics and survival imperatives. We are at that point in our evolutionary journey when we need a *global public sector,* a participatory form of global governance: one that is spiritually informed and guided by a new image of the human and adequately empowered under a checks and balances system with accountability to the world's people.

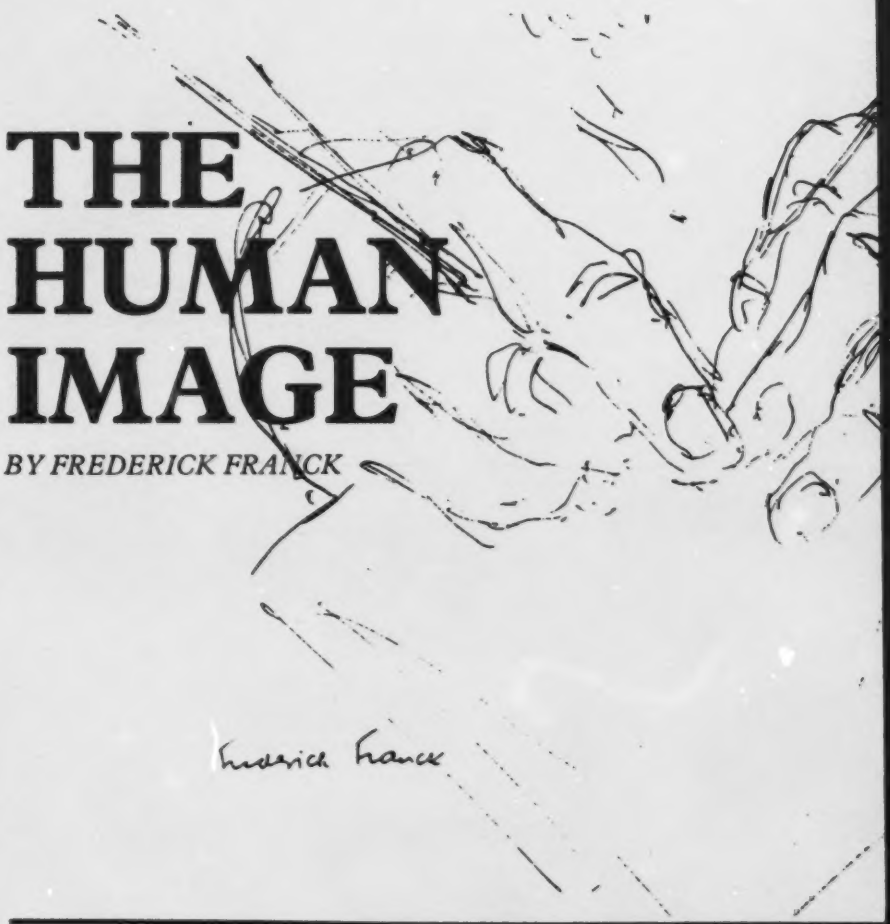
Whether or not we can secure and advance the human may well depend on whether we are prepared to undertake that next heroic step in our evolutionary journey — a journey that necessarily involves a new image of the human and a new more just world order. Herman Wouk said it well in his foreword to *War and Remembrance.* He was speaking about war, but we can extend the insight to include also human rights, environmental protection, just distribution of the earth's resources and other facets of an active, just and sustainable peace. For peace is not a negative virtue, not the absence of conflict. It is rather the active virtue of just relationships between peoples and nations.

> "Either war is finished or we are . . . war is an old habit of thought, an old frame of mind, an old political technique, that must now pass as human sacrifice and human slavery have passed. I have faith that the human spirit will prove equal to the long heavy task of ending war. Against the pessimistic mood of our time, I think that the human spirit — for all its dark side . . . — is in essence heroic."

The authors in these pages agree with Wouk. They invite us to take with them a heroic step forward in vision and in bold initiatives for securing and advancing the human. ■

THE HUMAN IMAGE

BY FREDERICK FRANCK



Recently I was invited to participate in one of those innumerable symposia on peace, on ecumenism, on the threatened future of humankind. Why I was invited was a riddle — I must have been on somebody's list — for it was a very professorial symposium. But I was delighted, for it was to be in Kyoto, my favorite amongst cities. I left, well prepared I thought, for I had tried hard to write the appropriately high-flown paper for such a distinguished talk test, complete with quotes from Aquinas to Zarathustra.

I never read it. There were some things which I felt had to be said much more urgently, not only to that symposium, but to anyone I could reach:

On my long trans-pacific flight I started reading and meditating, as I often do in crises situations (and to be hurtled through the stratosphere, separated from eternity by half an inch of aluminum is, to me, a crisis situation), the lecture which D.T. Suzuki delivered to the Japanese emperor immediately after World War II, on Kegon philosophy. Kegon is one of the pinnacles of the human spirit, which formulated 1300 years ago a radical and cosmic ecology which we late-comers have yet to catch up with. Kegon (Hwa Yen in Chinese) deals with the total and radical interdependence and mutual inter-penetration of all phenomena in the Cosmos, this integrated field of forces, as in a single living organism. Whatever affects a single one of these phenomena inevitably affects the Whole. I know of no better subject for mediation at 37,000 ft. altitude.

During these sixteen hours of flight, I also had the time to read, as an indispensible complementary subject for contemplation, a newspaper, to be precise, the weekly edition of the Paris *Le Monde* which I find hard to do without, for it offers in an intelligent nutshell the facts of life as demonstrated by the happenings of the past seven days. Hwa Yen and *Le Monde* read together shed a most unpromising light on our human future. We are powerless to change the past, and the present, which is bound to shape our collective future, will need the most radical leap into creative action if disaster is to be skirted.

But instead of theorizing, let me summarize what I found in this auxiliary subject matter for my stratospheric ponderings, as a concrete, be it cruel, confrontation with our reality-situation at this moment:

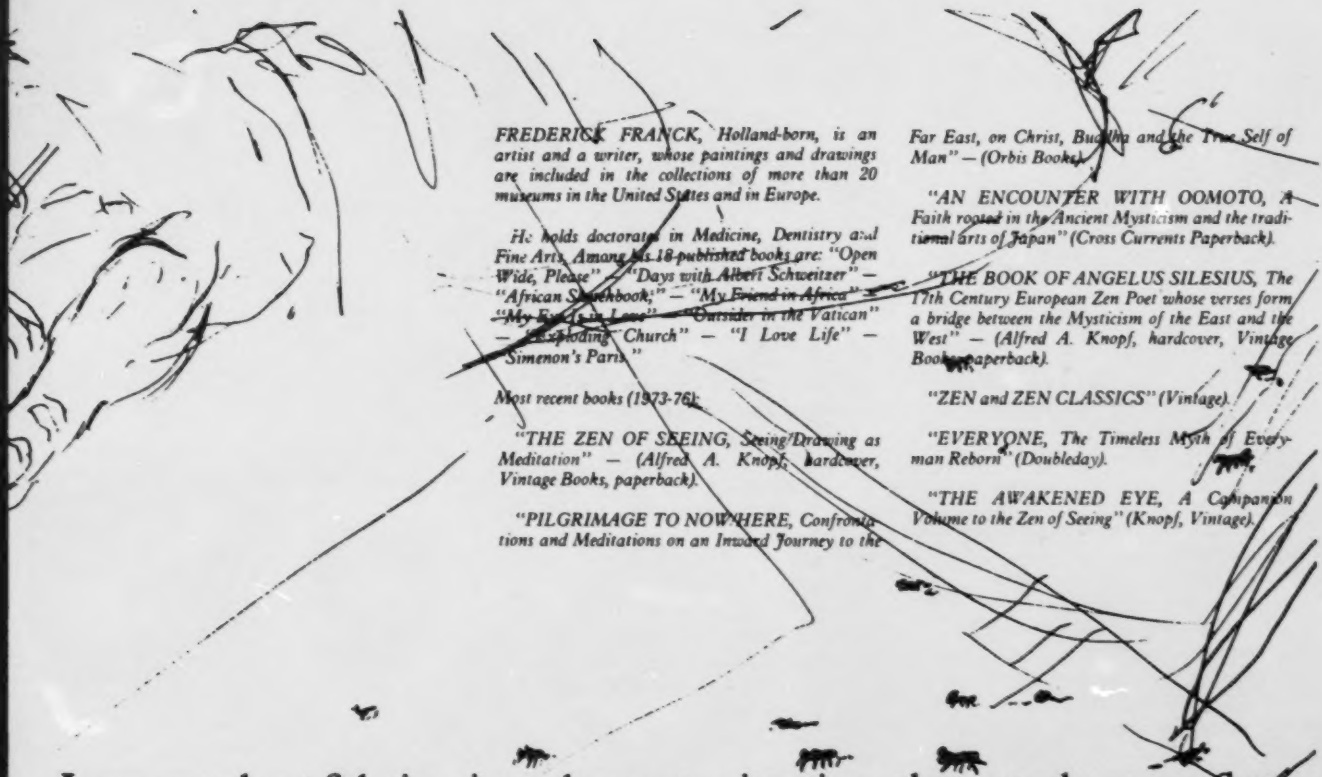
If what follows here strikes you as already a little dated, you are suffering from an optical illusion, for the more things change, the more depressingly they remain the same. In this world of greed, cruelty and folly, old hat is new hat and vice versa.

From the front page of *Le Monde* then, I learned that the president of South Yemen, which as we know is under strong Soviet influence and in bitter feud with North Yemen, sent his ambassador from Aden to the North with an attache-case purportedly full of documents designed to bring about a modus vivendi with his neighbor. When, during the conference with the boss of North Yemen this conciliatory attache-case was opened, it exploded, killing both president and ambassador.

Meanwhile, as the South Yemen president was rubbing his hands, congratulating himself on having liquidated two nuisances in one swoop, he suddenly stopped rubbing when he in turn was bumped off by his own loyal collaborators. "Who is man . . ." His successor may still be in place, uniess already assassinated.

At the same time Idi Amin, one of the most colorful mass murderers of a dishonored humankind, had, on the opposite shore of the Red Sea, just butchered a few cabinet members and a bishop, while His Majesty Bokassa I, who recently had crowned himself Emperor of the Central African Republic, was hugely enjoying himself by personally clubbing both thieves and schoolchildren to death. Iran was having some troubles with demonstrators.

The remainder of the page contained some gory details of a bloodbath in



FREDERICK FRANCK, Holland-born, is an artist and a writer, whose paintings and drawings are included in the collections of more than 20 museums in the United States and in Europe.

He holds doctorates in Medicine, Dentistry and Fine Arts. Among his 18 published books are: "Open Wide, Please" — "Days with Albert Schweitzer" — "African Sketchbook;" — "My Friend in Africa" — "My Exciting Love" — "Outsider in the Vatican" — "Exploding Church" — "I Love Life" — "Simenon's Paris."

Most recent books (1973-76):

"THE ZEN OF SEEING, Seeing/Drawing as Meditation" — (Alfred A. Knopf, hardcover, Vintage Books, paperback).

"PILGRIMAGE TO NOWHERE, Confrontations and Meditations on an Inward Journey to the Far East, on Christ, Buddha and the True Self of Man" — (Orbis Books).

"AN ENCOUNTER WITH OOMOTO, A Faith rooted in the Ancient Mysticism and the traditional arts of Japan" (Cross Currents Paperback).

"THE BOOK OF ANGELUS SILESIUS, The 17th Century European Zen Poet whose verses form a bridge between the Mysticism of the East and the West" — (Alfred A. Knopf, hardcover, Vintage Books, paperback).

"ZEN and ZEN CLASSICS" (Vintage).

"EVERYONE, The Timeless Myth of Everyman Reborn" (Doubleday).

"THE AWAKENED EYE, A Companion Volume to the Zen of Seeing" (Knopf, Vintage).

I see as a hopeful sign in a desperate situation, that people everywhere, spurred by the suffering of facing the end of our species, are reaching out for meaning . . .

former Katanga province, of other bloodbaths in Ethiopia and Erythrea with Soviet and Cuban guest-stars, and about future bloodbaths still in the preparatory stage for Southwest Africa.

The next page was much less bloody. It just devoted a few columns to the anxiety felt in Tokyo because of the new naval and air bases the Russians are building on Japan's doorstep, and the rest of this page to the plight of a few million Laotian, Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees, nameless victims — each single one of them human — fleeing for their lives through jungles and in leaking boats, admitted nowhere, attacked by pirates.

Next I read a fascinating article about a new regime in Afghanistan, safely established after killing off the entire previous one, most ministers of the *ancien regime*, plus a few thousand sundry compatriots.

As you see, these facts are not dated, for nothing has changed, except that Bokassa I and Idi Amin are now chewing their own fingers in comfortable retirement, that the Shah has died of cancer and that his successor has found new pretexts for murder and mayhem, just a little different in style.

Nothing has changed either from what I read in that copy of *Le Monde*, in Latin America, especially in Argentina, where inflation has jumped so that a thing that cost 10 pesos in 1975 now costs 1000 pesos, and where people are still being kidnapped daily from their homes to be found quite dead in a ditch, or never to be found at all. In Uruguay, torture is still being perfected to the highest depths of refinement, with the professional know-how of physicians and psychologists, achieving the most satanic perversions of "science."

At this point I shall end this revolting summary with the conclusion that Clausewitz's *bon mot:* "War is politics pursued by other means" must be updated to read: "War, assassination, terrorism and electric shock to male and female genitals, is politics pursued by other means."

Conclusion: In this century, whether on the so-called left or so-called right, whether with gulags, extermination abbatoirs, torture chambers, defoliation, nuclear assault or engineered famine, every nation has denied the Human with every despicable means at its disposal, has justified insane criminality with the ideological pretexts of some peculiar gnosis, some ersatz-religion, some anti-religion, which inexorably includes a strictly paranoid taboo on all questionings. Breaking of the taboo is automatically punishable by banishment, incarceration, torture and/or "execution," which means nothing but plain murder.

In this century, let us not hide it from ourselves; every single nation, large or small, has totally dishonored itself by anti-human acts. This is the Karma which rests upon us all, and is likely to do the shaping of our future.

The Latin American founder of Liberation Theology, Gustavo Gutierrez, says that "there is no justice if liberty is not respected." I would add, that fundamentally important as justice may be, it is secondary to an absolute respect for the human person as an inviolate mystery, and that a society is anti-human if it denies to a single human being the basic means to bare subsistence, *plus* the freedom which enables her or him to attain both the completion and the goal of her or his human life-cycle.

You will notice that I spoke of a "goal." By doing so, I have consciously risked myself upon the slippery territory of the "religious." I do not use the word religion here as referring to traditional structure or belief-system, but simply as referring to that specifically human attitude which tends humans towards their goal of *religiare*, of binding together, of reintegrating, the shards, the fragments, of their torn existence and of leading them to detect a meaning in human life. Neither shall I go here into the relationship of faith and belief, except to say that what we speak of as *"Faith" is a specific constituent of Human qua human* and that belief is just one — often unreliable, even disastrous way — of coming to terms with this ontological constituent.

The last few decades have seen the flourishing of a parlor game euphemistically called "interfaith dialogue." The time has come to admit that micro-ecumenical efforts in terms of polite intercourse, of attempts to reconcile irreconcilable concepts and belief-systems are fruitless and meaningless in contributing to the making of a global community. To debate eruditely on the differential diagnosis between Buddhist *karuna* (compassion) and Christian *agape* (love) may be fun for theologians, but is not nearly as useful as pointing forthrightly to the contrast between both these and the sheer barbarity which surrounds us. The time has come to reach a consensus and to speak out on *non-negotiable criteria* for human behavior as distinct from current anti-human behavior, which is less subhuman than it is infra-animal.

What is lacking in our contemporary value system is an Image of the Human that is transculturally and transreligiously acceptable and valid. "Physics is no longer important," as Heisenberg concluded at the end of his life. "It is the human who is important." This Image of the Human may be lacking, but it is not absent. It is hidden, even neglected; repressed by the very religious institutions which claim to be its repository. A global macro-ecumenism, I believe, can only be founded on a consensus on what it means to be human, and this Image of the Human I find *implicit* in all the higher religions. It is precisely this paradigm of the human that at last should become *explicit*, if the traditional religions still have a contribution to make, apart from that of being a tranquilizer. Far be it from me to advocate the cheap syncretism of mixed metaphors. Still, there exists in my view a religious attitude to life that is more essential than doctrinal purism, and that gracefully acknowledges equivalents and isomorphisms.

The good Samaritan of the Gospel was *not* an orthodox believer. His act of mercy was *not* determined by either religious or ethical precepts nor by indoctrination, but simply by his ability to really *see* the suffering, the need, of the other and to identify with it. This act of compassionate human-heartedness is an act of faith that issues automatically from that "religious attitude to life," which is neither identical with, nor independent of, codified religious belief and programming. Human norms and action are the inevitable sequel to what I call "the religious attitude to life," which is not even necessarily nurtured by the religious institutions. On the contrary, it is all too easily blocked by manipulation, indoctrination and rationalization. The "religious attitude to life" is closely linked to the ability to see, to shed our blinders. Animals look, and so do human animals. *The human consists in the capacity to see:*

"Behold the lilies of the field: *see* how they grow . . ."

"The Meaning of Life is to *SEE*," said Hui Neng.

"Forgive them, for they do not see what they look at, hence they know not what they do . . ."

Do I pose then seeing as the distinguishing characteristic of the human being? Indeed, I do present it as one of these specifically human characteristics, and as one that has been sadly neglected in what we call "education." That a human being is born after nine months of gestation, only quantitatively distinguishes him or her from a dog. That one has speech, distinguishes one only semantically from a dolphin. That one walks on one's hindlegs, one has in common with any gorilla. The human's distinguishing characteristic is not even thought, not even awareness, but the capacity to be fully aware of one's awareness . . .

Another distinguishing characteristic is that before even entering elementary school we have already questioned the meaning of life: "Who am I?" "Who are you?" "Why must I die?" "What am I doing here?" These are the primal, quintessential religious, questions no words can answer. Their being asked, however, is their answer: it is the incontrovertible proof of the questioner's identity as a human being, this creature that constantly puts *itself* into question.

Since I am saying this without pretending to be either a scientist or a theologian, let me speak experientially as the painter-writer I happen to be, in order, perhaps, to be a little clearer about that shared Image of the Human implicit in the great religions.

Recently my contemporary version of the 15th century "Play of Everyman" was published. The original is an archetypal medieval, Christian play, the central parable of which predates Christ, and is part of a Buddhist agama — as if to prove its transcultural and transreligious character.

I saw the medieval "Everyman" in my youth in my native Holland. It haunted me through life, until, while writing my contemporary version of the venerable play, I began to see it as much more than a play, namely as a perennial myth about human life, death and transfiguration . . . and as such as valid now as it ever was. I found in this myth that embodiment of the Image of the Human which, I said, is present — but only implicitly — in all the higher religions.

Mysteriously connected with the asking of what I called "the primal religious questions" is our built-in, imperative potentiality and demand for self-transcendence, for the overcoming of the delusional aspects of ego as the pre-condition for our becoming truly sane and truly Human. We humans apparently must live in a life-long tension: drawn as by a magnet to our true Humanity, our True Self, yet driven constantly to its evasion and denial.

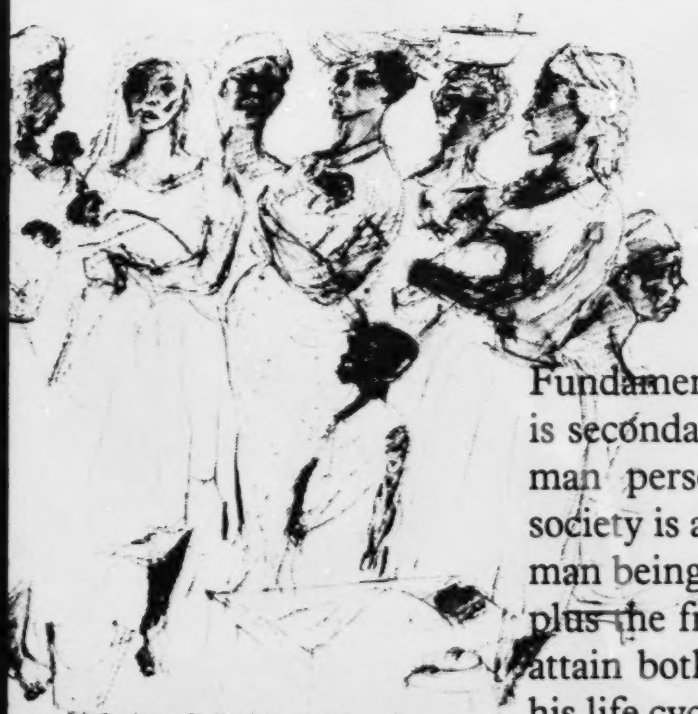
This existential self-diagnosis I found fully expressed in this ancient myth, which shows Everyman as a not-yet-quite-human creature, a creature still pre-human, as it were, in need of a "second birth," if he is to attain the maturity of his truly Human Nature. The Everyman myth declares that unless this specific "divine" Humanness is attained, we have missed the point and must die as aborted pre-human embryos. Until the pre-human narcissism of ego is crucified, if I may risk this paraphrase, the Christ-Nature, the Buddha-Nature, the Messiah-Nature, the Specifically Human, can not manifest itself . . .

The Everyman-myth then seems to transmit a universal mode of what it means to live and die humanly, and does so with so little theological and metaphysical ballast that it becomes transreligiously, transculturally acceptable. To my great surprise, in audience-reactions to my contemporary version, I have heard Christians call it "authentically Christian," Jews pronounced it "Jewish," and Buddhists called it a "Buddhist theme in Christian disguise." I have also seen some proof, after its publication, that to those who, to use Raimundo Panikkar's term, are "microdox fundamentalists" of the Biblical or the Vatican I variety, it is frightening and repulsive.

The Everyman-myth, moreover, sheds some light on the central purpose of what we call education, child raising, child training: apart from the obvious need to transmit information and skills, this purpose is to guide the still pre-human being towards its fully human stature. To speak with the great English educator A.S. Neill of Summerhill: the purpose of education is to make it impossible for a child to ever err so far from her or his humanity as to become a Gestapo-type, a deliberate torturer of fellow creatures, both animal and human. If the "future" is to be a human future (and unless it is, there is no use contemplating it at all), it cannot be lived in an existential vacuum and education will have to heed Neil's formulation.

The theistic religions may speak of the realization of this specifically Human potentiality at the human's core as salvation, redemption; non-theistic Buddhism may speak of Enlightenment, awakening, liberation. These contrasting conceptualizations do not affect the validity of the paradigm of the Human they share. On this paradigm full cooperation between assorted religionists and important currents in contemporary psychology, the social sciences as well as in the arts, becomes not only possible but mandatory as conditions for a more human world order.

In the Image of the Human which the Everyman myth expresses, Human Nature is lying dormant, but all ready and complete in each child born, as its innermost Nature. It is much as the ear of wheat lies dormant in the grain that must die. Is then the function of all



Baby Consultation at Dr. Albert Schweitzer's clinic

Fundamentally important as justice may be, it is secondary to an absolute respect for the human person as an inviolate mystery . . . a society is anti-human if it denies to a single human being the basic means to bare subsistence, plus the freedom which enables her or him to attain both the completion and goal of her or his life cycle.

valid initiations and mysteries and therapies to help the dying of the grain, of that false, "empirical" self, that primitive, pre-human narcissism which is the end-point of all animal evolution, but which at the same time is the starting point of the specifically human journey? This journey, it is every human being's right to complete, physically and spiritually; and this right remains inviolate — however many of us are allowed to be born. Indeed, the plural of human does not exist. The relation of science and religion in our predicament is clear: we simply have to rely on science to manage the overwhelming problems that face us, not only in matters like atomic waste, but in all other pressing problems of over-population, war, environmental depletion and pollution. The various djinns science has let out of the bottle cannot be forced back by chanting litanies.

Is the role of religious institutions then a negligible, atavistic one? On the contrary, the hubris, that ruthless "egotism via God," which constitutes the hereditary pathology of religion has proven almost as lethal as that of mad scientism. The task of religion now is to drop all traces of its superannuated hubris and to provide keys to Meaning. It is not to de-mythologize, but to de-tribalize and de-idolize its concepts. It is to provide unimpeachable criteria of the Meaning and dignity of being born as a human being. It is to point the Way to becoming Human: the human animal's vocation. In this it can't mark time, for too little time is left.

The word "global community" so often repeated euphemistically, as if it were something existing, seems to me to be a pure euphemism. Unless there is a widespread but profound and "religious" awareness of unity in our differentiation of our interdependence, of the Manyness that makes for our Oneness, there *is* no community. Without this realizaiton, "global community" is no more than a rhetorical device referring to mutually destructive snobs.

I repeat: if a consensus can be formed on the Image of the Human, which — circumventing the conflicts made inevitable by the doctrinal and cultural egocentricities of the religious belief systems — can be shared as *implicit* in these systems, we shall once more have a firm common ground under our feet from which true ecumenical action, the macro-ecumenical action toward humanizing what is prematurely re-

From the Will to Power we are at long last beginning to see the possibility of a conversion, a turnabout, to a Will to Meaning. Isn't it a first priority . . . for everyone with any influence on our culture, to encourage and nurture this Will to Meaning wherever it occurs, and regardless of the label it carries?

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ferred to as the "global community," can start. I believe this to be our last option — as it is the last option of organized religions — but also our great opportunity to foster a new religious attitude to life, which may pervade future social structures, and humanize them.

The religious attitude to life, although always awakened in the solitary human being, is not confined to it. The human spirit once awakened to its Reality in the fabric of the Whole is all too aware of the reality of suffering to ignore the great social dilemmas of our time: war, hunger, vandalism against the earth. But it sees these dilemmas for what they are: at least as much as "reality-problems" — that is, "spiritual problems" — as technological ones. We have seen through the aberrations of purely technical "solutions": genocide as practiced by the Nazis, ecocide as it is committed by the industrialized countries, collective suicide as it is brilliantly prepared by Departments of "Defense." Neither does the "religious attitude to life" swoon over some utopian unity to be attained. On the contrary, it recognizes as the cause of the curse that seems to rest on us, that unawareness of the reality of Hwa Yen, of "Indra's net," which at last is dawning upon the sciences: the interdependence of all that lives on earth, the fact of Unity in our diversity that we deny at our mortal peril.

From the Will to Power we are at long last beginning to see the possibility of a conversion, a turn-about, to a Will to Meaning. Isn't it a first priority not only for "religionists" but for everyone with any influence on our culture, to encourage and nurture this Will to Meaning wherever it occurs, and regardless of the label it carries?

The religious attitude to life is *not* in conflict with science, it is not anti-scientific to the extent that present day science recognizes its limitations in that it cannot pretend to offer a coherent world-view. The superstitions of scientism, of pseudo-science, of science misinterpreted and misapplied to serve anti-life and anti-human ends, however, is indeed incompatible with the religious attitude to life. I see as a hopeful sign in a desparate situation, that people everywhere, spurred by the suffering of facing the end of our species, are reaching out for Meaning. It is not a religious "revival" but a mutation, a turn-about towards new spiritual aspirations, face to face with the probability of our extinction by either hydrogen bang or pollution whimper. Everywhere I see signs of this mutation which longs to find a way out of the trap of that nihilism, that Will to Power, that Will to Death, which has brought us to this Ultimate Impasse and to replace it by a Will to Meaning, a Will to Life. A spiritual aspiration is only authentic if it is an aspiration toward contact with reality, with Ultimate Reality. This is the moment at which a new religious attitude to life becomes possible.

To sum up:

1. I have pointed briefly at the availability of a perennial Image of the Human, implicitly shared by the great religious systems. If I may, most provisionally — as if for myself — attempt a formula that epitomizes my credo, (for I have not been theorizing, I did not really speak "about" something, I simply spoke myself):

"Buddhology, Christology, Messiahology are anthropologies. They express the Buddha-Nature, the Christ-Nature, the Messiah-Nature, that is the quintessential core of what being human is about, and without which the non-negotiable "Image of the Human" remains fragmentary, distorted, invalid."

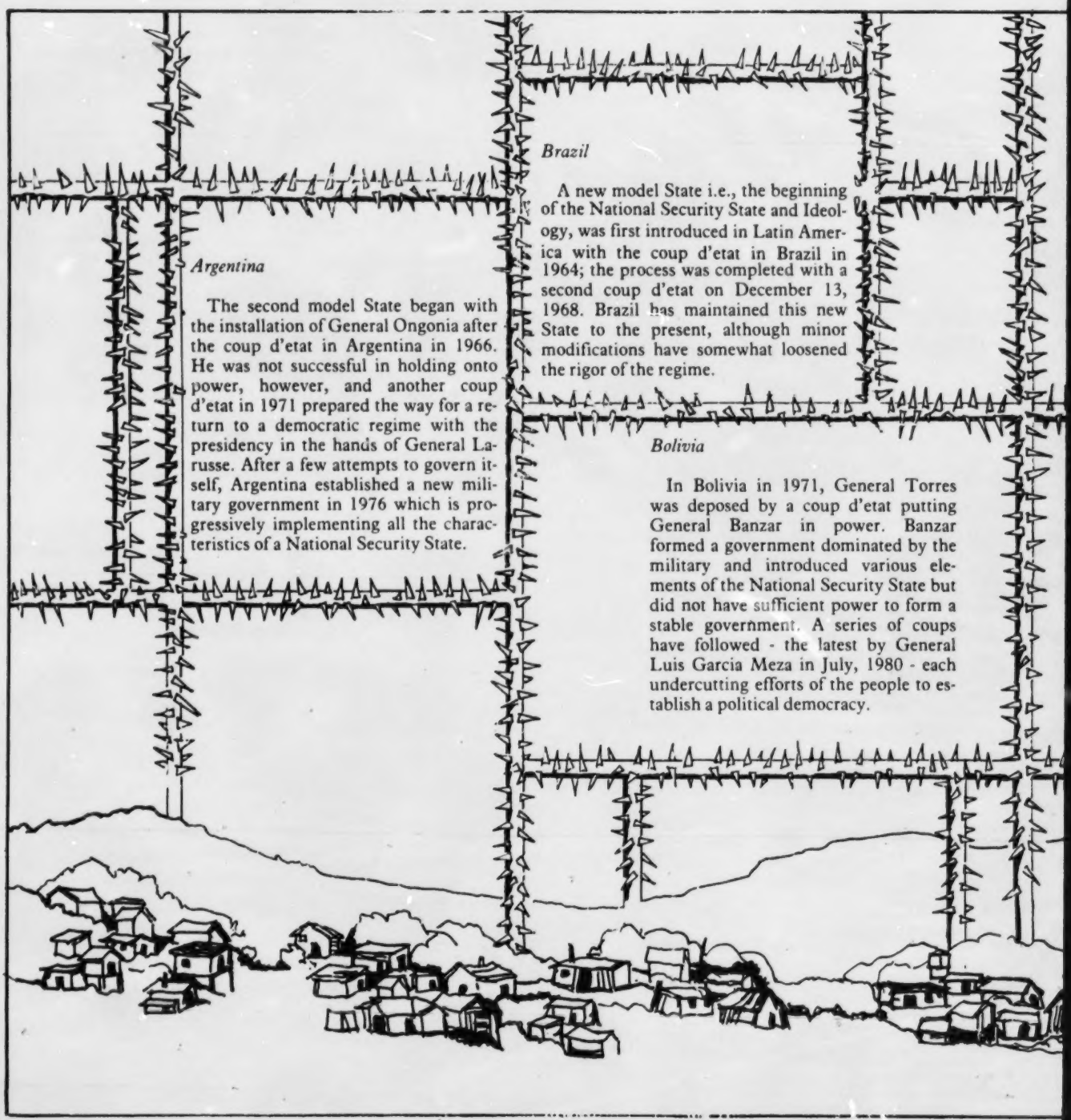
2. I have, however inadequately, pointed at a "new religious attitude to life," at a Will to Meaning that seems to be manifesting itself, and which — while not in any way deprecating what is valid in the religious traditions, not in any way advocating a substitute religion" — points to a Will to Meaning which seems to be manifesting itself, independent of affiliation or non-affiliation to religious institutions, however diffused, however (for the time being) unstructured it may appear.

Our duty is clear: the forces of anti-life are overwhelming. To resist them, not passively but creatively and synergistically, is our only option. Even if we should fail, if we should be too late, even if we are collectively destined for the abyss, we shall, by resisting, have followed our Masters. We shall not have lived our lives in vain. ■

Dr. Albert Schweitzer with His Pet Ants

VIOLATING

LATIN AMERICA AND THE



Argentina

The second model State began with the installation of General Ongonia after the coup d'etat in Argentina in 1966. He was not successful in holding onto power, however, and another coup d'etat in 1971 prepared the way for a return to a democratic regime with the presidency in the hands of General Larusse. After a few attempts to govern itself, Argentina established a new military government in 1976 which is progressively implementing all the characteristics of a National Security State.

Brazil

A new model State i.e., the beginning of the National Security State and Ideology, was first introduced in Latin America with the coup d'etat in Brazil in 1964; the process was completed with a second coup d'etat on December 13, 1968. Brazil has maintained this new State to the present, although minor modifications have somewhat loosened the rigor of the regime.

Bolivia

In Bolivia in 1971, General Torres was deposed by a coup d'etat putting General Banzar in power. Banzar formed a government dominated by the military and introduced various elements of the National Security State but did not have sufficient power to form a stable government. A series of coups have followed - the latest by General Luis Garcia Meza in July, 1980 - each undercutting efforts of the people to establish a political democracy.

THE HUMAN:
NATIONAL SECURITY STATE

BY JOSE COMBLIN

Ecuador

The evolution of the National Security State in Ecuador is similar to that of Peru. In 1972 a military coup d'etat gave power to General Rodriguez Lara, who announced a program that would be both nationalist and revolutionary. Not only was this program not carried out, but after only three years General Lara was replaced by a junta which turned the country more toward the National Security ideal. The innumerable interventions of the armed forces during the elections of 1978 showed clearly that even if the armed forces were willing to accept a civilian government, it, too, would be a government without power.

Peru

The armed forces in Peru assumed power in 1968 but with a different goal. They wished to apply a program of in-depth reform in both a nationalist and a popular sense. Certain crucial social reforms, the first in the history of Peru, were realized, but another coup d'etat expelled General Velasco Alverado, after which the Peruvian military regime has followed closely the model of the other military powers. In 1978, decisive actions were taken toward establishing a National Security State in Peru. The election of a Constitutional Assembly and the promise of elections in a not too distant future did not significantly change the basic evolution toward the National Security State.

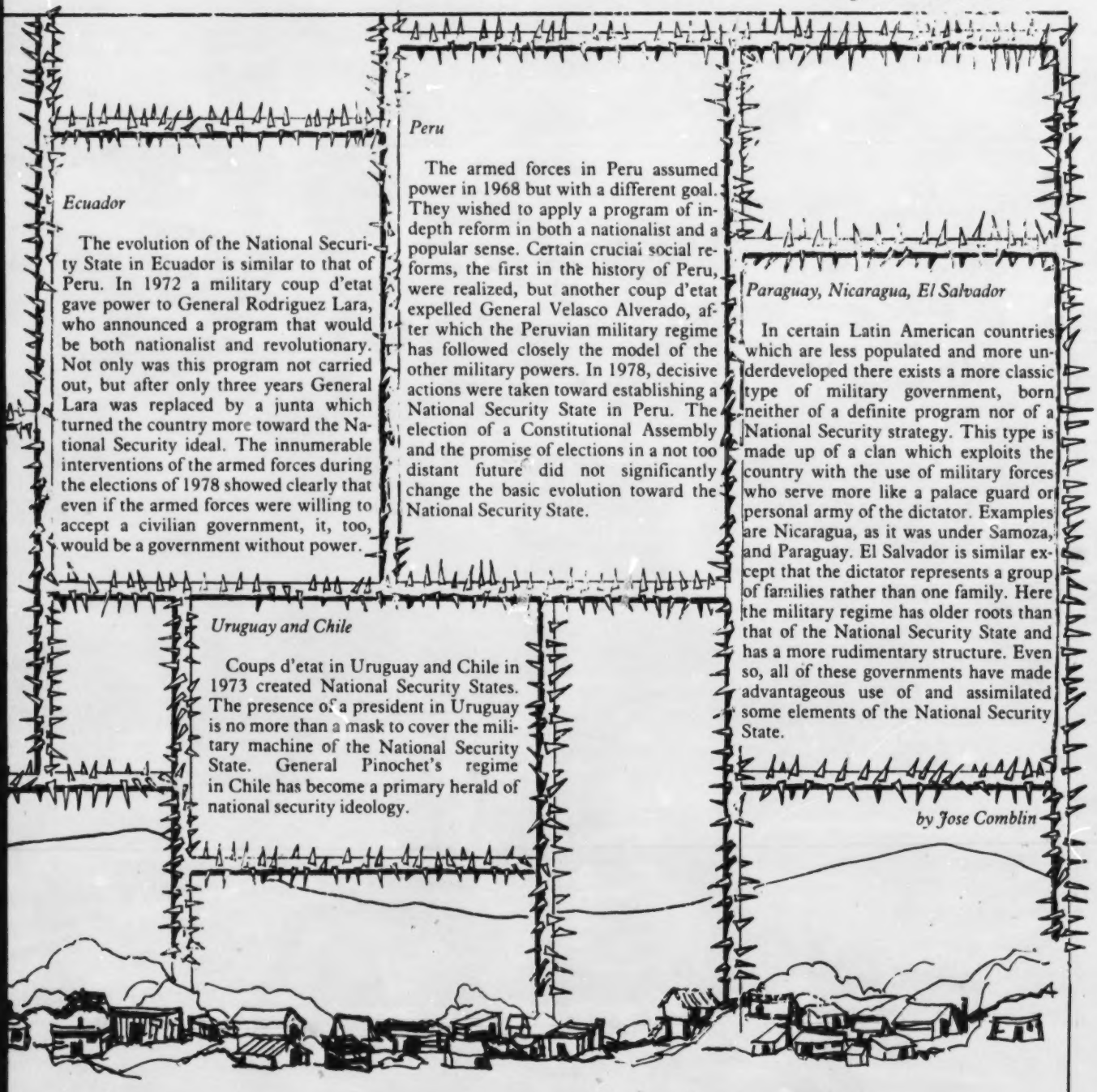
Paraguay, Nicaragua, El Salvador

In certain Latin American countries which are less populated and more underdeveloped there exists a more classic type of military government, born neither of a definite program nor of a National Security strategy. This type is made up of a clan which exploits the country with the use of military forces who serve more like a palace guard or personal army of the dictator. Examples are Nicaragua, as it was under Samoza, and Paraguay. El Salvador is similar except that the dictator represents a group of families rather than one family. Here the military regime has older roots than that of the National Security State and has a more rudimentary structure. Even so, all of these governments have made advantageous use of and assimilated some elements of the National Security State.

Uruguay and Chile

Coups d'etat in Uruguay and Chile in 1973 created National Security States. The presence of a president in Uruguay is no more than a mask to cover the military machine of the National Security State. General Pinochet's regime in Chile has become a primary herald of national security ideology.

by Jose Comblin



INTRODUCTION FOR NORTH

The following article by Jose Comblin, a prominent theologian/social scientist in Chile, is very important for U.S. audiences, especially after recent crises in Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador. Many years ago I realized that in studying U.S. Latin American relations one had to make three very important distinctions when referring to the U.S. side of the relationship: first, American business; second, the U.S. government and third, the American people. Clearly, there are many times — perhaps the majority of times — when U.S. business and government interests coincide, but for the most part, the American public is very ignorant of Latin America in general and especially in the dark when matters of U.S. foreign policy are involved. The U.S. public assumes that U.S. business and government involvement are for the welfare of the people in Latin America. They assume that the U.S. goal is to keep our Latin neighbors in the free enterprise system. The National Security State, therefore, presumably exists in those countries to protect a present or future "democratic" state.

What Comblin makes clear is that there exists a coalition of military, business and government leaders in Latin American nations with parallel support groups in the U.S. This arrangement, coupled with U.S. public assumptions about our good neighborliness towards Latin America, makes it very easy for the National Security State to gain increasing power. Under the pretense of national security, dissident groups of various kinds and ideologies are branded as "socialist," "communist" or "enemies of the state" and cruelly suppressed. Peasant movements, workers' unions and university organizations that politically educate their members are banned.

The Rockefeller Report of 1969 vividly portrayed the traditional American views vis a vis Latin America. The argument went as follows: What Latin Americans, like all other people, want is the good life; i.e. education, housing, jobs and especially more consumer goods. But in the meantime the guerrila movements are exploiting present unrest to overthrow legitimate governments. Therefore the Report recommended that the U.S. step up military aid so that the governments could hold off the insurgents and gain time until the economies of the various nations could satisfy the needs of the people.

This is the classic argument for a form of modernization, based on Westernization which in turn is based on becoming like the U.S. This brand of modernization means measuring progress by consumer/production indices such as GNP, literacy rates, metric tons of steel output and similar indicators. But modernization should mean something far different: the participation of the people in their own lives and societies so that they are enabled to control their own destinies. It should mean their right to create and nourish institutions and social structures that serve their own interests; and also their right to change the institutions or human constructs under which they are oppressed or excluded. It is precisely this kind of politicization that the present National Security States in Latin America are committed to destroy.

There has grown up in the U.S. a network of support for the Latin American National Security State that extends from intellectuals through the government, to business and to the military. Some of the support is based on an ideological mish-mash of anti-communism, pro Western-hemisphere sentiments and common defense strategies. Other support comes from motives which are crassly economic: there is big money in setting up strong military governments. Recent studies show a staggering amount of money being spent to prevent Latin American people from participating in their governments and to preserve the *status quo.*

President Carter spoke of a desire to end or at least slow-down the arms flow. But with the U.S. having a heavy deficit in its balance of payments due to the increased oil and other imports, such a slow-down is not likely. In addition to the huge initial profits, there is a secure market for the future since sophisticated weaponry makes the buyer nation dependent upon technological training, spare parts and replacements.

The U.S. military was deeply involved in Latin America following World War II and during the early years of the Cold War. In conjunction with U.S. corporations supplying the hardware, the U.S. military, especially the Southern Command headquartered in Panama, supplied counter-insurgency training and the know-how for use of modern weapons. As Comblin points out, the majority of junta leaders throughout Latin America were trained in the U.S. Several generations of Third-World military officers were "hooked" on the security syndrome,

AMERICAN READERS — *BY DAVID ABALOS*

which functioned as an alibi system for increased consumption of weaponry. Between 1950 and 1978, 400,000 Third World military personnel were trained in U.S. military schools.[1]

Often the argument is used that these military personnel and weapons are purely for defense. Yet the biggest spender on weapons in Latin America in 1978 was Brazil, a country that faced no real external threat. One can conclude from this that the real perceived threat was from within: the Brazilian people. Thus, the National Security State wars on its own people. Yet the State's array of surveillance, riot control hardware, police weapons ironically creates instability. For such repressive tactics widen the psychological and political distance between government and citizen. The resulting isolation of the junta gives rise to paranoia and paroxysms of institutionalized violence. The military develops a life of its own and, to protect its interests from popular leaders, sometimes initiates coups d'etat that, as in the case of Chile, are hailed by the U.S. as a restoration of normalcy and stability.

Too often we forget that ideas have consequences; academicians are too frequently dismissed as people in ivory towers with no effect on our lives. This is a serious mistake. There is a whole new class of university educated administrators, intellectuals, professionals, scientists and technicians with nothing to sell but their consulting brains. This class is now assuming critical influence. According to Professor Alvin Gouldner this class is in alliance with the old ruling class even though it boasts of its autonomy. Its aim is essentially and ultimately the direction of society.[2]

We do not necessarily have to agree with this strong position taken by Gouldner to recognize that intellectuals are having a profound impact on policy in many aspects of our lives. It is interesting to note that for years most Latin American social scientists learned their sociology and political science from U.S. and European social scientists. Almost all the social science textbooks in Latin America until recently were merely Spanish translations of the works of U.S. and European authors. The basic conservatism of U.S. social science had a definite impact on Latin American academicians. For years they applied the classic Western approaches to modernization, development and structural functional analyses in their own societies. Recently, however, some Latin American sociologists, political scientists and economists have begun to follow the lead of the theologians in developing a social science based on critique and liberation. Liberation's methodology is more important than its content. It examines critically the quality of human life by analyzing destructive relationships that cripple the people and prevent them from participating in their societies.

Jose Comblin is one of this new breed who sees clearly that no social science methodology is value-free or apolitical. For this reason he correctly criticizes Professor Samuel Huntington of Harvard University's Government Department. He represents the "modernization through stability" school of thought spoken of above. As a member of the National Security Council and a consultant to the Brazilian military government of General Geizel, his ideas certainly have consequences. Huntington helped to rationalize the military junta in Brazil (and by implication in Latin America) by arguing that an authoritarian government was necessary to put a country on the road to modernization. It was a necessary evil so that old cultural patterns and resisting groups could be forcefully subdued.

In a sense Huntington was correct. There are indeed times when a cadre of leaders and followers must use an authoritarian rule to initiate a process of change. But the key word is *initiate;* it must be a temporary authoritarian rule that clearly and unequivocally announces its intention and then sets about to put itself out of power as soon as possible. This is essentially the position of John Stuart Mill in his famous essay "On Representative Government," in which he specifically referred to Latin America.[3] However, it is Huntington's failure to insist on this temporary and transitional aspect that leaves him open to justifiable attack. One cannot avoid believing that Huntington has to know what he is doing; it is not naivete but a conscious choice of what he considers the only viable option to choose — stability.

But as Comblin so ably demonstrates, under the guise of stability the National Security State has institutionalized itself and then moved to consolidate its own existence — permanently. "When the military governments assume power it is forever." This logic has set up a terrible legitimized and structural violence that punishes anything that looks like dissent or resistance. In such a state participation becomes treasonous since it threatens the ruling junta; critique is called dangerous to national order and peace.

The importance of Jose Comblin's analysis for a North American audience cannot be stressed too much. The U.S. public must not continue to claim ignorance.

North Americans can begin by first of all educating themselves, by becoming aware of the kinds of alliances of which Comblin writes. I fully agree with his conclusion that no one nation can accomplish anything alone. We are all involved in a common destiny that cannot be hidden by such phrases as "poor and rich nations." We are all deeply in trouble because we cannot or will not transform our confusion into taking on the world-wide task of becoming more human. ■

[1]Egbel Ahmad, "The Arms Habit," *New York Times,* April 15, 1979, p. 17.

[2]*The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class* by Alvin Gouldner.

[3]John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government,* edited with an introduction by Currin V. Shields (Indianapolis, New York, Kansas City: Bibbs-Merril Co., Inc., 1958), especially pp 56-57.

Dr. David T. Abalos was born and raised in Detroit, Michigan. He was educated at the University of Toronto, receiving a B.A. in Honors History; he received an M.A. from Marquette University, and a Ph.D. from Princeton Theological Seminary. He is currently Associate Professor of Sociology and Religious Studies and Chairperson of the Sociology/Anthropology Department at Seton Hall University in South Orange, N.J., where he has been teaching since 1966.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE

EDITOR'S NOTE:

In this paper Jose Comblin describes *one* form the National Security State can take. It is a very dangerous and oppressive form and it is not unique to Latin American countries. Some African and Asian countries are also experiencing it in their own variations.

In most issues of *The Whole Earth Papers*, and in *Toward A Human World Order* by Gerald and Patricia Mische, the National Security State has been more broadly defined. Most National Security States now are concerned not only about military, but also about economic and resource security. In some cases states may be more threatened by economic and resource insecurities than by military threats.

Also, not all National Security States are military juntas or dictatorships. Democracies can also become National Security States of another genre when the top national priorities are given to international competition over balance of weapons, balance of payments and scarce resources at the expense of the basic needs of their citizens.

Further, not all National Security States are linked with capitalism in the way Comblin describes the Latin American variety. Some socialist and communist states are also National Security States, controlled by National Security elites and governed by National Security doctrine and priorities. While lip service is paid to the revolutionary rhetoric of ideological and class conflict and a people's state, the underlying engines that move these societies toward centralized goals and controls is not substantially different from that in the capitalist nations. Today, all nations are rapidly becoming National Security states of one form or another, driven by military, resource and economic competition.

Nor are all national security concerns illegitimate — i.e., the fabrication of ruling elites to maintain the status quo. Some nations threatened by border disputes or aggression by other nations or by economic or resource crises have legitimate security needs. In a lawless world, lacking an adequate *world* security system, nations have come to rely on dangerous forms of military and economic mobilization to ensure their national survival.

These less conspicuous forms of The National Security State may not fit Comblin's description below because they do not necessarily produce the same type of oppression. However, the loss of people's participation and gross violations of human rights are an ever present danger in the evolution of The National Security State System, whether conceived around legitimate or illegitimate ends or whether of the capitalist or communist variety.

The extreme state to which National Security regimes have gone in some Latin American countries should be forewarning to citizens of other nations of what may happen to them if their liberties and rights are not safeguarded through effective global law against the tyranny of national governments operating under the rationale of National Security. It should be a forewarning to the global community that crimes perpetrated against one people by their government need to be addressed as crimes against the whole of humanity. When one part suffers, the whole is in danger. It should serve as a spur to those with the power to do so, to work now toward the development of more effective world law, based on democratic participation and capable of checking and reversing the arms race, ensuring social justice and implementing human rights throughout the world.

— P.M.

Jose Comblin is a Belgian theologian and social critic who has lived and worked in Latin America since 1958. He has taught at the Theological Institute in Recife, the Catholic University of Chile (Talca) and the Catholic University of Louvain. He is the author of ***The Meaning of Mission, Jesus of Nazareth*** *and some twenty books in Spanish, French and Portuguese, including* ***Theologie de la Revolution, Theologie de la ville*** *and many documents on the National Security State and military regimes in Latin America.*

NATIONAL SECURITY STATE

BY JOSE COMBLIN

Translated from Spanish by Rita Fairbanks and David Abalos

I. THE NATIONAL SECURITY STATE

It is well known that the majority of nations in Latin America are controlled by military regimes. It is also known that the armed forces frequently intervene in the political life of Latin American countries. What is not clear to most people is the radical novelty of the Latin American military governments.

In the past the armed forces frequently intervened in the political process to unseat a president, close a congress, promote new elections or impose their veto on legislation or a governmental project. Frequently they would place one of their representatives — a general or other military official — as the head of the government. In such cases these officials who were inserted into the machinery of government assumed their role as leader and exercised power within the already existing civil structure, without changing its form or substance.

Now, however, military governments have changed the entire structure of the State. In many Latin American countries the armed forces as a whole have taken over the State. This takeover changes the meaning and substance of governing. The functioning government is in fact the military. Although there is frequent civilian collaboration, these collaborators soon become "militarized," which permits transformation of the previous State to a military one. For this reason the coups d' etats initiated by the military governments are radically different than those in the past.

These are not mere interruptions in a Constitutional process or development of the State; they are changes in the very nature of the State. They are not intervals in the midst of Constitutional stages. These military interventions are not in fact temporary: they are permanent. When the military governments assume power, they create a new structure to accommodate that power in such a way that their power will be predominant and permanent. Even though certain institutions are given over to civilians, these civilians are assumed into a military system.

Such a newly established State can now be called a National Security State because National Security is the most important justification for the existence of such a State.[1]

A. Brief History

A new model State (i.e., the beginning of the National Security State) was introduced in Latin America with the coup d'etat in Brazil in 1964. It was rapidly followed by the installation of a new regime in Argentina in 1966. Coups followed in Bolivia, Uraguay, and Chile, and in 1968 the armed forces assumed power in Peru. Ecuador's new National Security State was similar.

In other Latin American countries which are less populated and more underdeveloped there existed a more classical type of military government, born neither of a definite program nor a National Security strategy. Rather it was made up of a clan which exploited the country with the use of a military "palace guard."

The rest of the military governments (e.g. Panama, Guatemala, Honduras) have a more nationalistic structure. They thus often have public and popular support — allowing them to substitute nationalism with the necessity of an obvious National Security State system. The National Security model is clearly unfolding everywhere in the Latin American continent. And there is little doubt that countries maintaining a democratic front, like Mexico and Colombia, are adapting some structures to control the popular mind. Though not so extreme, these models are imitating many aspects of the National Security examples elsewhere.

Resistance

The formation of a National Security State in any country in Latin America has had to contend with opposing

forces. It is important to point out from what sector most of this resistance has stemmed. These include the structural remains of previous regimes, clandestine political groups which exist in spite of repression, some segments of the Church, and a widespread but vague kind of nationalistic sentiment. Each of these contributes its own kind of resistance. Besides these and on a more verbal and overt plain, groups such as university students, the communications media, workers' unions, and others challenge the established military regimes.

For this reason, in some countries the National Security State has not been successful in maintaining a unanimous loyalty even among the members of the armed forces. In certain cases the National Security machine has manipulated the armed forces, using whatever means it could such as propaganda, to justify its cause. Absolute control is used to neutralize the adverse pressures brought to bear against the machine. This is the case in Brazil, Uraguay, Chile and even more so Argentina. In Bolivia, Ecuador, and some other countries there is still internal disagreement between the National Security perspective and other approaches, the most predominant of which is the nationalist.

Collaboration

The very fact that there exists a National Security State does not necessarily signify that all members of the armed forces are in accord with its policies or that they are conscious of their roles in it. It simply means that national security propaganda has predominated, and the armed forces have succeeded in imposing their objectives on the State.

Habitually, the civilian sectors supporting the National Security regime ignore the doctrine and ideology that inspires the military government. The support of the military regime by this civilian group is usually under cover of a conservative ideology or a neo-liberal economics. They support the National Security State because their interests coincide with it. Nevertheless, although they may be unaware of the implications, they are helping to create a new State. This is justified by platitudes that the situation is transitory or that it is an exceptional one. They prefer to remain ignorant of the model that they are setting up and deny any connections between ideology and actions on the part of the military government. In this way their collaboration can be more effective.

The National Security State is not asking for collaboration on an ideological basis. As far as the National Security State is concerned, these civilians will cooperate much better with less understanding of global views. *It behooves the military to keep them in ignorance.* All the State asks of them is cooperation. In general, those civilians who cooperate with the military governments in Latin America justify their actions with an old conservative ideology from the 19th century, or by a neo-liberal pragmatism; the same pragmatism which led Samuel Huntington to prefer "less democracy," (as will be seen later).

B. Structure

At the head of the new State one encounters supreme power. It is a power which is dictatorial, self determining and accepting of no limitations. It is a power which is always above any constitution, even those it has dictated. In Chile the group of military preparing the future constitution has given this power the name "Poder de Seguridad" (literally, "Power for Security"). Its mission is to "guarantee the survival of the State, the basic principles of its institutions and the great and permanent objectives of the Nation."[2]

In reality this power is in the hands of a General-President-Dictator, a council or junta of Generals, or even a General assisted by a Council of National Security made up of various officials of the armed forces. Defined or not by a Constitution, the power is total and absolute.[3] If the constitution created by this same power causes problems, then it is changed by means of a constitutional act or a simple decree.

Secret Police

This "Poder de Seguridad" has at its disposal agencies which depend solely on it, are superior to all governmental agencies and cannot be controlled by any other. These agencies are those of the Secret Police commonly known as Intelligence Services. This, of course, is a euphemism, since not only espionage services are performed.

These Secret Police have the power to demand any type of information. They are secret in several ways: the names of their members cannot be made public, nor can they be identified by any state power. Their budget and their activities are also secret. They need not respond to any call from any judicial power. They have the power to detain any person in any manner without judicial approval, and to hold them in a secret place for an indefinite time, to confiscate their identification papers, to change a person's name, to torture, mutilate or kill, to secretly dispense with the bodies, to expatriate, to capture or to threaten in whatever manner it is possible to imagine. The mere existence of the Secret Services is a powerful deterrent to dissent of any kind. The fear engendered by their activities forces citizens to cease any attempt to criticize or create opposition to the government and to practice a kind of self-censorship.

Government

The other powers of the state emanate from the "Poder de Seguridad." The legislative branch is transformed into a technical service for the preparation of laws. It has no more than an administrative function. In the case of elected assemblies, the election system and the governing roles of the assemblies are such that there is no alternative other than to follow the directions of the Security State. The assembly well knows that their power comes, not from the people, but rather from the "Poder de Seguridad."

The Executive branch of the government is also an agent in the hands of the "Poder de Seguridad." The ministers have no autonomy and are purely the collaborating agents of the "Poder de Seguridad." The executive branch, however, because it is the instrument of supreme power, gives the appearance of having more power when compared to any other State powers. It is important to note that the members of the government, while totally ignoring the activities of the secret police, are yet themselves subject to surveillance by the secret police.

Courts

As for the judicial branch, the dictators proclaim its total independence. Nevertheless, in the absence of elected assemblies by the people which can support the courts, experience has demonstrated that the possibilities for resistance are minimal. The "Poder de Seguridad," by means of one pressure or another, succeeds in making the Courts simply docile instruments in its hands.

Just to give one example of a purely routine method: when a judge must make an important decision, he will receive an anonymous telephone call the

day before. The secret police or whomever will remind him that if he wishes to preserve the life of his son, his daughter, his wife or any other person close to him, he must exercise caution in his decision. The judges who resist such treatment are exceptions. Any affair with implications for the National Security State, is beyond the jurisdiction of the court. Needless to say, no one in any secret service agency need ever appear in Court.

Communications

The National Security State uses many other powers which directly or indirectly succeed in controlling all or almost all of the communications media, especially that directed to the masses — T.V., radio, daily popular newspapers and most publications. Usually the government of the Security State leaves a little freedom for the intellectuals to give vent to their feelings so long as there is no possibility of their influencing the masses.

Education

This National Security State strictly controls all national education, whether private or public. Its control over curricula and authorized texts is total. The elimination of thousands of university professors and teachers from other teaching levels constitutes for all of their colleagues a serious warning and powerful deterrent. Similar methods of censorship are used in all other areas of cultural expression.

Economic Development

Finally, the National Security State promotes and imposes the model of development most suited to its wishes. For the National Security State the economy must have as its final end the creation of economic power, not the satisfaction of the needs of its people.

II. THE DOCTRINE OF NATIONAL SECURITY

The drive to establish the National Security State has been mounted in Latin America by the armed forces, who have assumed power by means of coups d' etat, and legitimized it by means of a 'doctrine" of National Security. This doctrine is essentially a military ideology and a military program. The same doctrine gives everything a military flavor such that all of the social activities and all of the functions of the State are transformed into military activities.

This doctrine of National Security consists of three concepts: *war, security,* and *nation.* There is a specific interpretation of these concepts that is extraordinarily simple and serves well to persuade the military to apply them. The doctrine is not an ideological

National Security doctrine denies the multiple causal factors of internal conflict and reduces the blame to only one conflict: the war against communism.

BOLIVIA

Since the military under General Luis Garcia Meza Tejada seized power in Bolivia on July 17, 1980, hundreds of Bolivians have been arrested and tortured. A *New York Times* dispatch tells of citizens who "have become fugitives including businessmen who held meetings with politicians and youngsters who fashioned street barricades out of paving stones in the days after the coup. They move from secret dwelling to secret dwelling each night trying to elude Government agents." Clergy are being harrassed, youths intimidated, and many personal liberties curtailed — even foreign correspondents are repeatedly threatened with death.

On the day that the government controlled newspaper headlined General Meza's pledge to respect human rights, military guards delivered so many kicks to the kidneys and spleen of the Rev. Julio Tumiro Javier, head of the Bolivian Permanent Assembly on Human Rights, that, according to fellow prisoners later sent to the Papal Nuncio's house for deportation, he was not able to urinate.

A key official explained: "We must have repression until we have complete control of the situation. I ask you, if you were the military institution, what would you do? Of course the policy creates resentment. People don't like the nine o'clock curfew or constant demand for identity cards. But we must have discipline."

concept in the classic sense, (although it can be elaborated in the form of an ideology), but rather a strategy for military action.

A. The Concept of War

In the doctrine of National Security in Latin America, the world is a stage of constant and total war. The world is in conflict and competition and for the moment the conflict is polarized around a fundamental antagonism: the conflict between the free world and the communist world.

Vis a vis communism the National Security State is in a stance of *total* war. Communism is the absolute enemy and neither conciliation nor reconciliation is possible. Marxism is seen not as a partial or relative phenomenon, but as the absolute evil, the total adversary, a threat to the survival of the nation. Marxism aims at the destruction of the nation so security is in peril. Marxism causes the appearance of a truly absolute war which only ends with the destruction of one of the two antagonists.

On the other hand Marxism is seen as a reality of life in all its aspects. It is the enemy that attacks all dimensions of society: military, political, economic, and cultural. This war is general and universal. Marxism is the spectre that overshadows every conflict, using each social conflict to serve its own purpose.

In this way it can be said that all the conflicts within a society are simply the emergence of the total war that Marxism wages against the nation. Therefore all internal conflict (economic, political, cultural) must be controlled. The doctrine of National Security presents itself as a doctrine of peace, national reconciliation and tranquil order. Certainly if every conflict is a manifestation of communist influence, it must be put down immediately or even prevented so that it never happens. National Security doctrine denies the multiple causal factors of internal conflict and reduces the blame to only one conflict: the war against communism.

Given this concept of war, a state of permanent mobilization is legitimized. In this permanent mobilization, two aspects are stressed:

NICARAGUA

Samoza's Nicaragua was a typical case of the National Security State which, when broken down to its component parts, revealed the alliance between parallel groups in the United States and Latin America. President Somoza's family was installed in power by the U.S. Marines almost 50 years ago. U.S. foreign policy after that time was dedicated to the "stability" made possible by a government in clear violation of democratic principles. To maintain this government "la Guardia" was established as a virtual praetorian guard, a personal army of body guards for the ruling Somoza family and its allies. The recent president, Anastasio Somoza, the son of the original dictator, was educated at West Point. The "old boy" system worked very well for him since he was ably supplied and supported by his friends in the U.S. military. Somoza returned the favor allowing Nicaragua to be used as an invasion base in the Bay of Pigs fiasco. The Somoza family consistently presented itself as the only alternative to another socialist Cuba in Central America. With U.S. arms and investments the Somoza family built up an impressive economic empire.

National Security is actually government security . . . it is the security of the economic system established by it.

(1) total unity and complete discipline which excludes all opposition or internal differences in order to concentrate totally on the only adversary — communism.

(2) the mobilization of a nation for a state of war; the nation is organized for permanent warfare. In this mobilization, the social sciences designed to understand the reality of peacetime (political science, economics, sociology, etc.) are all considered irrelevant. There is only one science — wartime strategy!

The mobilized nation is transformed into a powerful entity which sees all social realities in terms of power. For side by side with military power there exists:

— *political power,* which is the resultant force of unifying all the citizens and maintaining this unity;

— *economic power* which is the capacity to produce the necessary elements to fight the adversary; and

— *cultural power* which gives the moral force necessary to motivate and animate the nation and give it the will to survive in the face of the enemy who wishes to destroy it.

B. The Concept of Security

To stress security as a priority value, one must synthesize and organize all the other social values around it because the doctrine of National Security destroys all the patiently constructed inheritance of social life derived from human wisdom. Security is a vague reality, indefinite, confused and without clear borders or limits. The concept always contains reference to survival; i.e., a problem of life or death. The doctrine of National Security creates a climate of danger and assesses all problems in the light of the question of survival.

All social problems are complex, but the National Security doctrine reduces all of them to one fundamental problem — the problem of survival. The people are given an absolute project — *security.* It requires all of their energy with an urgency that is unconditional.

The doctrine of National Security takes from the citizen all possibility of an autonomous social life. It is a one dimensional simplification of their lives, a dimension which demands that people fight for life in the face of ever present threat. *Diplomacy*, which was the science or art by which to bring about an understanding and a form of co-existence between groups, disappears; and the only way of co-existing with the Marxist enemy is in a state of war. *Politics*, as in the humanistic tradition, also disappear. The art of governing despite internal conflicts, the art of looking for compromise, accord, equilibrium, or mutual concession dies. According to the National Security doctrine, conflicts have to be eliminated and general mobilization silences all differences.

The fundamentals of intellectual life naturally disappear, as these are kept alive by discussion and debate which are not permitted. Thought cannot develop without opposition. But in the National Security State thought is replaced by propaganda. The state teaches its people that "we are a great nation" and obliges them to repeat endlessly this formula. The National Security State calls this cultural and intellectual life.

People have always thought that the process of civilization consists mainly in reducing the number of instances where physical violence is necessary to resolve conflict. From this principle came the notion of "national defense" which postulates that violence among nations is not a normal method of resolving conflict, but is a last resort against aggression.

The new military doctrine of Latin America, however, does not have defense as its objective, but rather security. Since security implies the problem of survival, it, of course, makes legitimate any means to acquire it, including violence. To propose security as an *ever present* goal is to assert that violence is always permissable in whatever circumstance. If survival is the issue, then violence can always be practiced. This way the assassinations perpetrated by DINA (secret police) in Chile and in other countries — such as that of Letelier in Washington in 1976 — are perfectly legitimate. If National Security is invoked, anything is legitimate. Instead of reducing and containing violence, it increases it beyond all bounds.

On the other hand, to make Marxism the only enemy suppresses the distinction between external and internal politics, between internal order and national defense. The goal is obtaining security against the same enemy inside as outside the nation. For this reason maintaining internal order is conceived as a form of war against an internal enemy. The armed forces exert their function as police because the nation itself is the enemy and in the name of the nation they must protect it from itself. And the police, having been militarized, treat the internal conflicts as if they were problems of war. Therefore the secret services behave in the same manner within the nation as outside it, as the CIA attempted to do in the USA, except that here in Latin America the Secret Services have had more success.

C. The Concept of the Nation

The concept of the nation is present in the conception of National Security, national objectives and national power. The nation is conceived of as the only reality, homogeneous and with only one interest at stake. And who defines the interest? The State. Since there can be no internal conflict, there can be no divergence between the people and the state. The State is the indisputable representative of the people. Hence there can be no opposition between the people and the State. And who runs the State? Ultimately it is the "Poder de Seguridad"(Security Council) in which the leaders of the armed forces have the last word. Therefore, the people are the nation, the nation is the State, the State is the Government and the Government is the "Poder de Securidad." National Security, then is actually government security, security of the same National Security State. It is the security of the economic system established by it; and it is the security of the instruments of cultural control and of social relations within the nation.

D. Continuing with National Security

In the name of National Security all voices critical of the established system are silenced because the system and all elements are identified with the nation. Therefore all criticism can be a threat to survival of the nation. In the name of National Security all protests are prohibited because every enterprise is part of the national power and any production slow down puts national survival in jeopardy. In the name of National Security also, political parties and political demonstrations are suppressed when not of government origin because dissent threatens national mobilization.

In a democracy national policy is determined by the people. There is no one list of national objectives but rather *platform objectives* of *competing* political parties. Politics consists of looking for ways of coexistence and compromise between these different programs. In a democracy there are a multiplicity of particular goals and state programs and it is the business of politics to unite the varying objectives with those of the State by way of permanent conciliation.

The doctrine of National Security, however, does not permit any economic, cultural or political autonomy. All are subordinated to one total objective of security. From the perspective of national security, all sectors of social life — political power, economic power, and cultural power — are called to constitute one element: national power. Cultural power, i.e., ideology, is mainly concerned with manipulation in line with national mobilization and national objectives.

Ironically, National Security provokes public insecurity. Any citizen who separates her or himself from national mobilization becomes a threat and potential enemy. From thence emerges the primary task of the Secret Police in the nation. If every citizen is a potential danger, an enemy, then they must be watched. The Security Council needs the cooperation of the Secret Police, the only ones who are capable of assuring that the people will not deviate from the post in which national mobilization has placed them. This is how the National Security State serves as the proper instrument in the realization of the doctrine of National Security and all the strategies which flow from such a State.

III. THE IDEOLOGY OF NATIONAL SECURITY

The doctrine of National Security is not necessarily expressed in a systematic ideological format, but generally it functions on a level of infra-ideology. The doctrine is made up of three postulates or propositions:

1. Marxism is thought of, not as a political or social system derived from economic factors, cultural evolution, and particular political factors, partial

factors taken together with others, but as the incarnation of absolute evil with the will to destroy OUR nation. Marxism is seen as an absolute evil. Reconciliation is deemed impossible; and elimination is deemed the only alternative.

2. Security becomes a value superior to all others and unlimited by them. If justice, peace and human solidarity are not considered to be the basis of the nation's democratic tradition and if these values are not superior to mere survival, it is because the doctrine of National Security is dominant.

3. Security of the nation is placed above security of the individual; and national mobilization is formulated by higher authority pretending to represent the people as a whole.

Although the National Security doctrine is not announced, it is easy to recognize it in the actions of the State. It is furthermore written into the very structure of the National Security State.

The National Security doctrine is not always implicit but is sometimes clearly announced in an explicit manner. One finds it in the treatises and courses on military strategy, and particularly in courses and publications usually reserved for military institutes of the armed forces of Latin America. After the second world war almost all the armed forces of Latin America created military colleges with the intention of giving credentials to those military men at the head of their class for the express purpose of teaching a doctrine of National Security.

In 1949 Brazil founded *la Escuela Superior de Guerra,* the advanced War College, destined to teach and promote a National Security doctrine similar to that of the United States. From this college came the ideas, political programs and officials who assumed the leadership of the coup d'etat in 1964 and who have ruled the Brazilian State since. In Peru the Centro de Altos Estudios Militares (CAEM — Advanced Military Studies) was created in 1950. In Chile the new military state formed the Academia Superior de Securidad Nacional in 1974. Argentina, Bolivia and Ecuador have similar institutions.

All of these war colleges wished to imitate the National War College in Washington founded in 1948. The doctrine that they all teach is directly inspired by U.S. military schools.[4]

When groups inspired by the National Security doctrine succeed in a coup d'etat and are able to form the state as they wish, the new doctrine is expressed little by little in subsequent decrees, laws, constitutional acts and judicial decisions. The doctrine is apparent in the speeches of the generals who become president of the republic or ministers of defense or hold other important public offices.

The National Security doctrine, when clearly announced, inevitably causes indignant public reactions because of the Christian and democratic traditions of Latin America. For this reason, the military governments, along with their civilian collaborators, try to avoid the bad impression it produces. They try to deny it when they are met with strong opposition. Or they attempt to make the doctrine more acceptable by mixing it with other themes taken from a conservative nationalist ideology.

In Chile, for example, official representatives of the doctrine of National Security, with the appearance of sincere honesty, deny any contact whatsoever with the doctrine. However, at the same time that they deny any contact with the doctrine they clearly affirm without vacillation its axioms or basic positions.[5] According to them this doctrine is deeply humanistic and Christian. To define it they use traditional Catholic rhetoric such as "common good."

In reality these denials are only tactics or gross lies. As primary evidence it is enough to read the magazine, *Seguridad National* (National Security), published by the *Academia Superior de Seguridad Nacional* of Chile in order to see that their positions regarding National Security are treated as given points of departure. The generals in their speeches work to cover up their own lies with more lies. This phenomenon is interesting because it shows that the National Security doctrine needs a complicity of silence and ignorance for its public acceptance. Instead of explaining the doctrine its supporters perceive that it is better for them to deny its existence or its inspiration.

At the same time as the public denials, in order to create a homogeneity and unity of action between the functionaries of the regime, the military has perceived the advantage of developing the doctrine of National Security as a true *ideology* capable of competing with other contemporary social ideologies. Thus the organized courses for military and civilian personnel who will occupy the highest positions in the government. In addition to the courses there are also specialized magazines, such as the *Seguridad Nacional* of Chile, which are designed for a select public and tightly circulated.

Some have tried to elaborate the ideology in a more literary form. One of the most important such works is *Geopolita do Brazil* (Geopolitics of Brazil) by General Golbery do Couto e Silva (1967). Golbery was one of the most important professors of the *Escuela Superior de Guerra* (War College), and the organizer and leader for several years of the Intelligence Service of Brazil (SNI). He is a man whose ideas have made the greatest contribution in creating the current Brazilian political system and is today a close aide to President Geisel.

IV. EVOLUTION TOWARD POLITICAL INSTITUTIONALIZATION

The National Security elite who assumed power by the coup d'etat in Brazil in 1964, governed as a provisional government for many years. When a new constitution was made they immediately suspended its implementation because it limited the goals of the National Security State. However, after some years, they felt the necessity for a more stable regime with definite permanent structures.

Around 1976, Latin American countries began to aspire to a "new institutionality" and the military governments began to promote what they intended as a state structure. They proclaimed that their only reason for staying in power was to establish a new democracy. Thus the dictatorship justified itself by its desire to create a democracy. The problem, according to them, was that a democratic state needed a strong foundation and only a dictatorship was capable of providing such a foundation. Since 1977 they have begun to announce plans for new constitutions with an end to transitional states, elections, plebiscites, representative assemblies: in short a "new democracy."

When President Carter assumed office in the U.S., the Latin American military governments understood the importance of adopting a human rights

ARGENTINA

In Argentina, on March 12, 1976, the government of Maria Estela Martinez de Peron was overthrown by a military coup. To many observers, the event seemed full of hope; possibly the military government could find solutions to the country's formidable problems — the outbreaks of terrorism, spiralling inflation, political imprisonment and the frequent disappearances. And in fact, the new president, General Jorge Rafael Videla, pledged to restore human rights and to eliminate terrorism and "monopolize" the use of violence.

Following the coup, all violence increased. For the first three months after March 24, twice as many political murders were reported as for the previous three-month period. The number of arrests and abductions mounted; so, too, did the number of allegations of torture and of deaths in custody.

Two years after the coup, Amnesty International believed that over 15,000 people had disappeared, and that 8-10,000 people were detained in official camps where torture, terrible conditions and eventual execution are rampant.

"The prisons of the nation shall be healthy and clean, for the security, and not for the punishment of the prisoners confined therein; and any measures that under pretext or precaution inflict on them punishment beyond the demands of security, shall render liable the judge who authorizes it."

—Article 18 of the Argentinian Constitution

rhetoric.[6] Under the pressure from the U.S., the leaders of some Latin American military states spoke with more forcefulness regarding their pure and democratic ideals. Stronger nations like Argentina and Brazil could afford the luxury of breaking military relations with the U.S., protesting that Carter's policy on human rights was a form of meddling in the internal affairs. But even these countries had to change their rhetoric regarding human rights and the smaller nations had to concede even more. Weak nations such as Bolivia and Ecuador felt obliged to organize elections and did so in 1978. The somewhat stronger nations of Chile and Uruguay have so far resisted this pressure.

Also, there are in all the states, pressures that come from the higher and more powerful class to set up democracies. The upper classes have a western orientation. Because of their relative power they have to be placated.

By virtue of all these factors, the military governments are currently proclaiming their preparation to return to a democratic state. If they prolong their presence in government, they say, it is only because the nations are not yet prepared for democracy.

It is important to critically evaluate the real direction of this political evolution. Many believe that the military will soon give up their power, that the doctrine of National Security has been nothing more than a short term nightmare and that the countries are proceeding toward democracy. It is possible that the forces opposing the National Security State will gain little by little and force the military to restore democracy. But it does not appear so at the moment, nor are the opposition forces very strong. We must hope that one day it will happen.

If however, we have to count on a *voluntary* evolution of the National Security States to establish democracy, we have to be skeptical. The present strategy of the military governments does not have as their objective a democracy, but rather the institutionalization of the National Security State.

The "new democracy" of which the present governments speak can be expected to be an "authoritarian democracy," a "strong democracy," a "protected democracy." They feel supported by the ideas of men like Samuel Huntington[7] of Harvard, who argue that authoritarian governments may be necessary to achieve modernization. But the governments of Latin America are carrying this maxim too far and there is little real evidence that they are ready to change.

In a "protected democracy" the doctrine of National Security would be maintained, along with all the essential groups of the National Security State stemming from the "Poder de Seguridad," including especially the primacy of the Secret Police. The privileged presence of the armed forces will be maintained. Because it will be a manipulated democracy, public elections, representative assemblies, etc., will be done in such a way as to protect the privileges of the "Poder de Seguridad" (Security Council) and Agencies of Intelligence. If democracy does not allow itself to be manipulated, it will be "reformed" until the armed forces are assured that the reformed democracy will be in effect the expression of the stable and permanent National Security State.

What happened in Bolivia and Ecuador after the last elections is very significant. The elections were fraudulent and manipulated. The armed forces refused to recognize the true results of the elections. They did not wish to have any one in power who could not be controlled. There has been no sign in any Latin American country that the armed forces would voluntarily abandon their power and the structure of the National Security State.

Many feel that U.S. pressure will cause the armed forces of Latin America to accept a democracy that they do not want. They believe that President Carter's policy of human rights means that the U.S. is prepared to pressure the military governments until they restore democracy. Much of this is wishful

thinking.

The politics of human rights constitutes moral support for all opponents of the established regime, but this is a far cry from establishing a strong political support capable of changing the course of events. Much more will be needed. Even in Chile, in face of the Letelier affair, the U.S. ambassador clearly stated that the U.S. had no interest in affecting in any way the government of Pinochet. There is every indication that the U.S. wants to gain leverage to force Chile to soften the regime, but not to destroy it.

If the defenders of the "renewal of democracy"in Latin America cannot get enough support from the politics of human rights, much less can they count on support from the principles guiding the foreign policy of the United States. For example, the policy of "detente" with the USSR had very little affect on the relationship with the National Security State in either the satellites of Russia or those of the U.S. In effect, "detente" affected only the direct relations between the two countries, not relations between or with satellite nations. "Detente" affected the arms race between the U.S. and Russia by carefully maintaining the predominance of both of these two nuclear super powers, and by maintaining a relationship of economic, technical, and scientific collaboration. But detente did not in the least affect the profound competition and rivalry of the two big powers. It represented a shift in the politics and strategy of National Security. It was a tactical change, not strategic. National Security remained the fundamental principle. Interestingly enough, the U.S. did not manifest any desire for the Latin American countries to establish relations with the commun-

EL SALVADOR

There are at least 50,000 civilians who are members of a group called **ORDEN**, which supports the Party of National Conciliation at the local level and who are the eyes and ears of the security forces in every village and town in the country. Paramilitary groups of ORDEN members act with impunity against peasant leaders and opponents. Traditionally, ORDEN's head is also the president of El Salvador.

Recruitment into ORDEN comes from both military service and through government employment in service industries. Ex-soldiers, for example, must generally serve two years as members of the army reserve and many subsequently, or simultaneously, are recruited into ORDEN.

The 'Campesinos'

In 1932, following the collapse of the world coffee market (El Salvador's main export), an estimated 30,000 peasants were killed during a peasant uprising—three percent of the population of that time.

Repression Against Peasant Farmer Unions

On the night of March 20, 1978 a meeting of *campesinos* (peasant farmers) in a hamlet of the San Pedro Perulapan area of El Salvador was attacked by members of the government paramilitary organization ORDEN. One peasant was wounded and another, Transito Vazquez, a leader of the Christian Federation of Salvadorean Farmers (FECCAS), was arrested.

The following day FECCAS members found his decapitated body with marks of torture. His head had been hung from a tree.

What followed was one of the worst in a series of violent attacks against rural communities in El Salvador. The area of San Pedro Perulapan was occupied by the army following government claims that the peasant federations were threatening ORDEN members

Since the late 1960's, however, two large peasant unions have been formed, despite the continued ban on the right of peasants to negotiate through unions: FECCAS, Federal Campesino Cristiana de El Salvador (Christian Federation of El Salvadorean Farmers) and UTC, the Union de Trabajadores del Campo (Rural Workers' Union).

These two peasant federations have become increasingly strident in demands for agrarian reform since a proposed agrarian law under the former Molina regime was reversed in late 1976 following massive opposition by organizations of large private landholders.

It is from late 1976 that detention, torture, disappearances and murders of peasant leaders began to be reported to AI with alarming frequency. But, by early 1977 this violence turned against the supporters of the peasants in the Roman Catholic clergy with priests targeted for detention, torture and murder.

Religious Persecution

A climax to the persecution was reached in 1977, when 19 priests supposedly associated with the peasant unions were expelled from El Salvador. Twelve others were jailed and several of those suffered severe torture.

On March 12, 1977, Father Rutilio Grande, a Jesuit priest of the rural Aguilares parish, was killed by a burst of sub-machine gun fire. Father Grande had strongly supported the local peasant farmers.

Following the murder, government troops occupied the area, evicting peasants from lands they had been sharecropping, burning their houses, and according to several sources, shooting in cold blood more than 50 peasant farmers. Several hundred more "disappeared" after being taken from the area in army trucks.

—Amnesty International

. . . From the perspective of National Security, a development that requires control of the people by use of armed force, is perfectly conceivable. The economic repression and the sacrifice imposed by the economic model are the economic aspect of National Security mobilization. As for the business class and economic leaders, their loyalty to the National Security order also appears inevitable.

ist world by virtue of "detente."

In the past several years it is a fact that the U.S. has had a tendency to interfere less in Latin America. Under Carter the U.S. expressed the intention of renouncing a special policy toward Latin America. It preferred to look upon its new policy as one of bilateral relations.

But any expansion of relations between the U.S. and Latin America does not mean that the former has any interest in taking strong action that would encourage a replacement of National Security regimes with democracy. As Gregory F. Treverton, a high official of the National Security Council, says, the stability of the current regimes leaves the U.S. very tranquil.

> "The U.S. has little to fear from Latin America partly because the existence of military-dominated regimes, the leaders of which have, in many cases, maintained close professional relations with the American armed forces, guarantees that minimum U.S. objectives will be achieved: threats to internal security will be contained and the influence of extra-hemispheric powers limited. The new regimes are a force that Washington must reckon with, yet so also are they a defense against the emergence of forces which, from Washington's point of view, would be less predictable and more dangerous."[8]

A U.S. policy of less intervention is not an indication that the U.S. has dropped its interest in authoritarian regimes, but rather indicates that it is less preoccupied because these regimes have demonstrated their stability. There is no reason to expect the U.S. to intervene in the present National Security regimes.

V. A NEW ECONOMIC MODEL

A certain evolution can be seen in the history of the new National Security regimes. In the beginning the fundamental justification for legitimizing the new regime was of a political-military nature. It was total war against international communism. It based its justification on the growth of political parties and movements with a Marxist ideology and on the emergence of some guerrilla groups who were trying to imitate the example of Cuba.

Increasingly, however, emphasis has shifted away from a military emphasis toward emphasis on economic development. Unfortunately, this new economic focus does not necessarily mean development for the benefit of the ordinary people. It is a development model focused on the reinforcement of the National Security State.

The military governments favored a new economic system, a new version of capitalism, very closely modelled upon industrialized Western society. They opened the door to multi-national corporations, giving them many privileges. They also favored big national business interests by suppressing pressure from the workers for a better distribution of national income and by permitting big business interests to weaken labor. The national businesses — whether private or public — were integrated more and more into larger economic trusts, and they in turn were integrated with the multinationals and large world banking firms. Some economic groups who, in the beginning disclaimed the National Security State, began to benefit from it as part of the privileged few.

All this worked to the support of the National Security State. At the same time, participants in the new, integrated, economic system realized their need for support from the National Security State. Multi-nationals and large national businesses both became open and unconditional supporters of the National Security regimes, as much and perhaps even more so than the military itself. If they were to advocate a return to democracy, it would be either for a "protected democracy" or for an "authoritarian democracy" as spoken of by the military governments.

It is true that the U.S. Congress has held back economic aid to certain Latin American dictatorships, above all Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. However, it should be stressed that these dictatorships have received enough help from the U.S. private economic sectors to more than compensate for their loss from the U.S. public sector. Pinochet's government has never lacked credit. The investments of large corporations constitute a significant contribution to the hope of dictatorships. The larger corporations know very well that no other type of government would give them so many advantages as the current military governments, and that any change could be only prejudicial for them.

VI. DENATIONALIZING THE NATIONAL SECURITY STATE

One could ask, why have National Security governments in Latin America chosen a western, capital-intensive model of development based on economic dependence on western industrialized countries, especially the U.S.? Why, in the name of National Security, have they adopted a model of development which includes such a radical denationalization of the economy?

Some (Marxist analysts) might say that the military were nothing more than an armed branch of capitalism and performed a coup d'etat in the name of economic interests. And just as they were the agents of the bourgeoisie in the coup, they continued to be so afterwards. This explanation is too simple. In reality, the national big business interests and multinationals had not constructed, nor even envisioned, the new type of State which now serve them so well.

Here it is suitable to consider some of the arguments that highlight the problem and demonstrate the true dimensions of the agreement between the new dominant economic groups of today in the West and the National Security regimes.

1. The economists of the military governments strongly insist on the absence of alternatives to the current model of development set up by their regimes. In some way, they are right. At the time of the coups, the Latin American nations — as well as those nations which had not had a coup — were in a situation from which there was almost no escape. At least they were no longer free to pursue their own destinies.

The previous process of industrialization which had oriented them to national capitalism had come to a standstill. The Latin American countries had accumulated debts to developed countries and financial groups in their own countries. Their industrialization created a situation where the exports in no way compensated for the imports. They had no other way to pay their debts except to obtain more loans and foreign investments, and hence incur more debts. They entered into a vicious circle of increasing balance-of-payments deficits followed by increasing dependency.

The acceptance of a development model imposed by dominating multinationals seemed to be the only solution. Of course, this model consisted of more and more integration into the system directed by these groups. The only alternative would have been a radical break with the western economic system and a policy of development based on self-reliance. But such a solution was impossible for National Security military governments. It would have meant a complete political and military break with the West, which would have meant a total subversion of the doctrine of National Security. Such a course was impossible. Besides, such a total inversion of the economy, of politics and of military alliances could never be realized without tremendous social upheaval within the country.

This alternative was unthinkable to the military. The example of Peru had demonstrated the result of choosing this alternative. The Peruvian military government of General Velasco Alvarado tried to free itself from the scenario imposed on it by the large corporations and the western economic system. But it did not dare to launch itself on a policy of self-reliance which would have totally disturbed Peruvian society. It capitulated to the imperatives of the international banking system and adapted an economic plan similar to Chile and the other National Security regimes.

The model which they had to adopt was that of economic integration into the western system whose motor is increasingly driven by the multinational corporation. Production is increasingly determined by the international market. To export is a competitive business and requires top production. Top production depends on importing sophisticated, capital-intensive technology and technical assistance from Western industrialized nations and big business interests. It is difficult to export without depending on the controlling network of the large multi-nationals which control capital, markets and technology.

Many military are very conscious of the fragility of an economy dependent on the fluctuations of the international market and over which their countries have no control. They accept the situation because they believe there is no alternative.

2. Another argument that evokes the adherence of National Security state to such a model is its efficiency and effectiveness. As a matter of fact, this model stimulated growth of the Gross National Product (G.N.P.). In certain cases this growth was so tremendous that it was referred to as an "economic miracle" — as in Brazil (1968-1973). Following the example of Brazil the other military governments hoped for a repeat of the "miracle" in their own countries. Some in Chile even announced their "miracle" before it was produced.

This kind of efficiency and effectiveness is precisely what pleases the National Security military. It is a model that has to do with quantitative growth which increases concretely the riches of the country and its available financial resources. It is a form of development that modernizes industry and paves the way for modern armaments production. It "modernizes" the country and creates an ability to compete on a global level with other countries. In a word, it increases the military and economic power that is demanded by National Security doctrine.

Everyone recognizes that this model provides economic satisfaction for only a small portion of the population. But within the politics of national power, the satisfaction of the citizens is of little importance.

3. A third argument in support of the current system is its economic integration within the western world. For some this integration appears as denationalization. Others are more sensitive to the complimentary nature of a political, military, and economic integration. Integration within the Western market system reinforces the ties within the anti-communist world, and, at the same time, reinforces the stability of the anti-communist front and strengthens the security of the Western world (which, of course, includes the Latin American countries).

4. There is great affinity between the Latin American ideology of National Security and the ideology of capitalism. Both are based on idealizing aggressiveness and competition. When the economists present the economic problem as a challenge to conquer markets, conquer foreign capital, conquer foreign technology, conquer the respect and favor of the large world corporations, this rhetoric awakens sympathy. It is the rhetoric of the present leaders of the national economy of the Latin American countries and this rhetoric pleases the military of the National Security school.

5. The same economists present the establishment of the new economic model as an internal fight against underdevelopment. This fight is accelerating the process of economic modernization against all archaic structures. It is a fight to implement a modern technology, a structure of production with modern distribution and a modern form of capitalism.

The individuals, groups or social structures who resist this change are simply rejected and their values denounced as "being antiquated" — repre-

. . . Not one of the Latin American nations can save itself alone. Not one change will be of any significance unless that change happens worldwide.

senting factors which slow down civilization. Those who protest are accused of seeking to restrain progress and modernization. This argument is used as a rationale for ignoring the workers and the cries of all those who suffer the consequences of this economic model. For the military, if development is a fight, then there are bound to be victims. It is normal that some be losers. Those who resist the current system resist development. They are ignorant: they hold onto obsolete ideas and they must be swept aside in the march of history.

Without doubt they realize that there are social tragedies, but they affirm that the important thing is not to stand in the way of the modernization process that is deemed essential to the security of the nation.

From the perspective of National Security, a development that is a fight against a reticent public, a development that requires control of the people by use of armed force, is perfectly conceivable. The economic repression and the sacrifices imposed by the economic model are the economic aspect of national security mobilization. As for the business class and economic leaders, their loyalty to the National Security order also appears inevitable.

CONCLUSION

In fact, after some years the new economic model of integration in a market dominated by western big-business, has revealed catastrophic consequences for the majority of the population. It has become more and more difficult for them to believe that their sacrifices are temporary. Increasingly the popular classes are convinced that the sacrifices which are asked of them are the result of this imposed Western model of economic development.

Actually, the sufferings brought upon the people are tremendous. Unemployment and underemployment affects up to 50% of the working age population. Salaries and standard of living for the workers are lower. There has been a nullification of participation in the political and social processes — with all the consequences which this brings.

Given this scenario, the economic leaders know very well that the usual means in a democracy for dealing with contention would be completely insufficient to form a barrier against the indignation of the people. Although some may lament methods of the National Security State, almost all tolerate them because this same National Security State is the only barrier capable of containing a popular rebellion and of imposing an economic model which violates in many ways the rights of the majority of the population.

In this way the alliance between the National Security military and the new big business operators is increasingly consolidated. A new leadership elite has based itself on this alliance.

There is an evolution in the National Security State in the sense of associating the military class with the new economic class. This class is composed of the economic sectors of the State (Ministries of Housing and Business, etc.), national branches of the large multinationals which represent in the country a well defined politics of the world center, and large national business institutions (financial banks or companies).

There is something common to both elements of this new class: both were formed in the United States. The origin of the National Security doctrine is the United States, and so is the model of development. Those who created the National Security State were trained, supported and educated in the United States. So were those who implemented the new economy. In all Latin American countries there is currently a group of U.S. trained personnel to direct the economy.

How long will this system reign? The opposition in the Latin American countries is profoundly divided. Furthermore, it is confused by the political, economic, and cultural forces that are competing in the current world. Indeed, not one of the Latin American nations can save itself alone. Not one change will be of any significance unless that change happens worldwide. There is a need for a coordination between many world forces and networks to effectively combat and overcome National Security doctrine of the National Security State.

FOOTNOTES

1. I have made a presentation of the system of national security in a book which, at the present time, can be found only in the following languages:

J. Comblin, *Le Pouvoir Militaire en Amerique Latine: L'ideologie de la Securite Nationale,* Jean Pierre De large, editor. (Paris, 1977).

_____, *A Ideologia da Seguranca Nacional: O Poder Militar na America Latina.* (Rio de Janeiro, Civilizacao, Brasileira, 1978).

_____ *Dos Ensayos sobre la Seguridad Nacional.* (Santiago, Vicaria de la Solidaridad, 1978). (limited circulation).

2. According to the Chilean magazine *Seguridad Nacional* (No. 7, Santiago, 1977), the mission of the "Poder de Seguridad" is to "guarantee the survival of the State, the basic principles of its institution, and the great and permanent objectives of the Nation." Attempts at new constitutions in other countries do not invoke the same name of "Poder de Seguridad," but are substantially the same.

3. The "Poder de Seguridad" reserves the right and the responsibility to define which are the basic principles of the institution of State and which are the objectives of the Nation. It is a directive power over the Nation. It denies that the populace is, itself, the final judge of its objectives and the manager of its institutions.

4. Military training and indoctrination programs: From 1950 to 1975, 71,651 Latin American military personnel were trained in the U.S. (included the Panama Canal Zone). As of 5 September 1975, 33,147 were graduates of the U.S. Army School of the Americas located at Fort Gulick in the Canal Zone.

A House Foreign Affairs Committee study mission to Latin America concluded:

"The majority of issues which must be addressed about MAP (Military Assistance Program) training are political and economic in nature, rather than strictly military. This emphasis reflects our strong conviction that military assistance programs are primarily an instrument of American foreign policy and only secondarily of defense" (U.S. House of Representatives, Reports of the Special Study Mission to Latin America on Military Assistance . . . ., 91st Cong., May 7, 1970, p.7).

Luigi Binaudi and Alfred Stepan said in their report for the Rand Corporation: "The rationale for the U.S. MAP program is that professionalism contributes to lessened political involvement on the military's part and the concentration on exclusively military affairs. But to the extent that military expertise or professionalism is increased in areas of counterinsurgency, nation-building and multi-sector development planning, the military would tend to become more rather than less involved in politics" (Latin American Institutional Development: Changing Military Perspectives in Peru and Brazil, Santa Monica: RAND, 1971, p.123).

Most of the Latin American military leaders who conducted the 15 coups from 1962 to 1975 had been recipients of U.S. training. The coups were generally prepared by the military cliques more inclined to the American advisors (Brazil, Chile, Bolivia). The Latin American trained personnel are prepared in order to be very important persons in their countries. "It was always expected that military leaders trained by the United States would assume important positions in their own countries, either within the military or as leaders of the government itself" (Nacla's Report, vol. X, Nº I,p.13). In October 1973, more than 170 graduates of the School of the Americas were heads of government, cabinet ministers, commanding generals or directors of intelligence in their countries. And coups in Peru, Bolivia, Panama and Chile were carried out by officers who had attended the USARSA (School of the Americas, Panama Canal Zone). (New York Times, October 23, 1973).

The military training in the American Schools is based on counter-insurgency and political indoctrination. The political doctrine leads the military to the persuasion that they have the responsibility and have to assume the political power and the whole leadership of the nation: they are the "nation-builders" so that the military training has been and still is an immediate training for political involvement in their nations. The military doctrine was and still is confirmed by the message of the American sociology: Edward Shils, Lucian W. Pye, John J. Johnson, Edwin Lieuwen, Samuel Huntington are legitimating the military coups.

Defense Secretary McNamara said in 1963 (U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations, Foreign Operations Appropriations for 1963, Hearings, 87th Cong., 2nd Session, Part I, p.359): "Probably the greatest return on our military assistance investment comes from the training of selected officers and key specialists at our military schools and training centers in the United States and overseas. These students are handpicked by their countries to become instructors when they return home. They are the coming leaders, the men who will have the know-how and impart it to their forces. I need not dwell upon the value of having in positions of leadership men who have firsthand knowledge of how Americans do things and how they think. It is beyond price to us to make friends of such men. Indeed they are the leaders of their countries and they apply what they learned: just like the military dictatorships in Latin America are the product of the American training programs," said McNamara.

5. Here is a quote from General Gaston Zuniga Paredes, ex-director of the Academia Superior de Seguridad Nacional:

"It is a human doctrine because it searches precisely for the security of the human being, his survival, his full development, in avenues which are clear and precise. The law has full vigilance, the law which shelters his activity, his property and his healthy aspirations. Those who follow internal subversion as a way of gaining their objectives which are not reachable by the common, natural route will not be able to gain a common foothold because of lack of preparation, capability or suitability. It is a doctrine which shelters and protects the great mass of citizens who work for the national well-being, for the internal development of the nation and, out of respect and pride, for the permanence of birthright. It is, in synthesis, the base and foundation of the preservation of the State from which these acts stem, moving toward the prosperity, progress and happiness of the nation." *(Seguridad Nacional,* N. 7, p.100).

These are the three postulates of the National Security Doctrine.

6. See the point of view of the Latin American militarists in Mariano Grondona, "South America Looks at Detente (skeptically)" in *Foreign Policy,* No. 26, Spring 1977, pp.184-203.

7. Cf. Michel Crozier, Samuel P. Huntington, Joji Watanuki, *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission,* New York University Press, New York, 1977; Samuel P. Huntington and Joan M. Nelson, *No Easy Choice: Political Participation in Developing Countries* (Center for International Affairs), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1976; Samuel Huntington, et al., Civil-Military Relations, American Enterprise, 1977.

8. *Latin America in World Politics: The Next Decade (Adelphi Papers,* No. 137, 1977, p. 10), The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 18 Adam Street, London.

9. See, for example, Jan Knippers Black, *United States Penetration of Brazil,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977.

10. An example of the ideology of national security in which the fight for the creation of power is particularly described is in the book of the Brazilian General, Meira Mattos, *Brasil - Geopolitica y Destino,* Rio de Janeiro: Jose Olympio, 1975. The doctrine concentrates on the projection: "Brazil - Great Power." Argentina, also, seeks popular support by use of the slogan "Argentinian Power." In Chile, the objective is "Chile - Great Nation."

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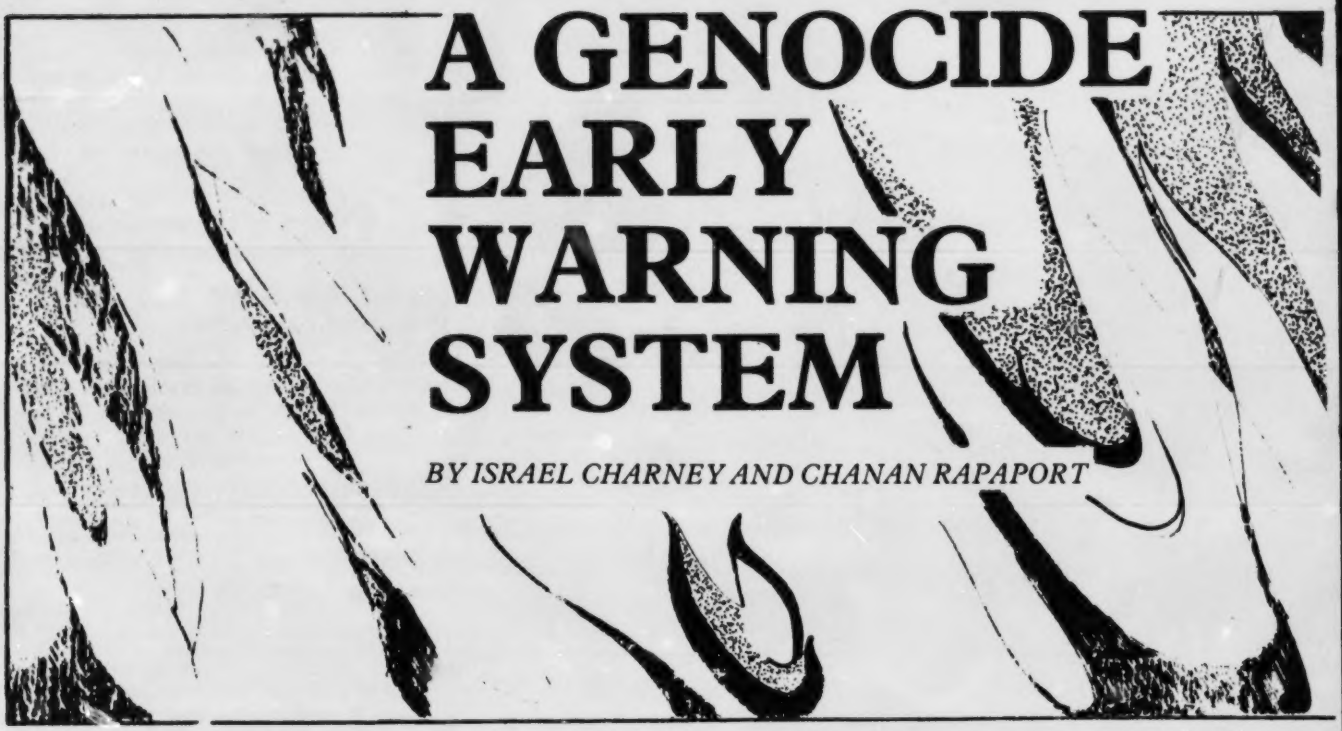


A GENOCIDE EARLY WARNING SYSTEM

BY ISRAEL CHARNEY AND CHANAN RAPAPORT

Sometime around 1966, I came to feel very deeply that I wanted to try to understand more of how *human* beings could have committed the terrible acts of the Holocaust.

I was, after all, a practicing clinical psychologist working with my fellow human beings in their personal, marital and family hells and forebodings day after day; and presumably I knew *something* about the underlying nature of creatures of our species, both the better and the worse. Or did I?

I heard the "Jew" in me cry out — from all that hurt and suffered in my own life; from my deep identification with my people; and from all in me that searched for greater justice in a world where the lives of so many people are often held in callous disregard.

What in the name of God did we psychologists really understand of the men who conceive, build and staff the Auschwitzes of our lives? Did we even really understand the small events of deceit and betrayal that are everyday occurrences in family life, friendship, and business and collegial relationships? Had we ever really accounted in our psychology of the normal personality for the incredible readiness of human beings to incinerate the last skeltons of humankind's claim to decency?

I realized that I, for one, understand *nothing*. In all the excellent training I had enjoyed in a fine American doctoral program in clinical psychology some years earlier, I had hardly encountered this member of our species who, day in and day out, in large events and small, malevolently destroyed his fellow humans in body and spirit. It struck me as absurd that I should be treating this same person in his everyday despairs and anguish when I really did not understand how people could descend to such monstrous levels of madness far beyond any of the traditional clinical conditions I had been taught. I resolved to read and study everything I could get my hands on about how people could perpetuate the worst ugly hells and deaths on fellow human beings, and ultimately on themselves as well.

It seemed obvious that one place I should turn was the memorial authority of the Holocaust, *Yad Vashem*, in Jerusalem. So I wrote to them to ask where I could get a bibliography of studies of how it is that humans "born in the image of God" could execute the horror of the Holocaust and other genocides. The reply I received proved instructive but not in the way I had hoped: my correspondent at *Yad Vashem* advised me courteously that they had no material on the subject!

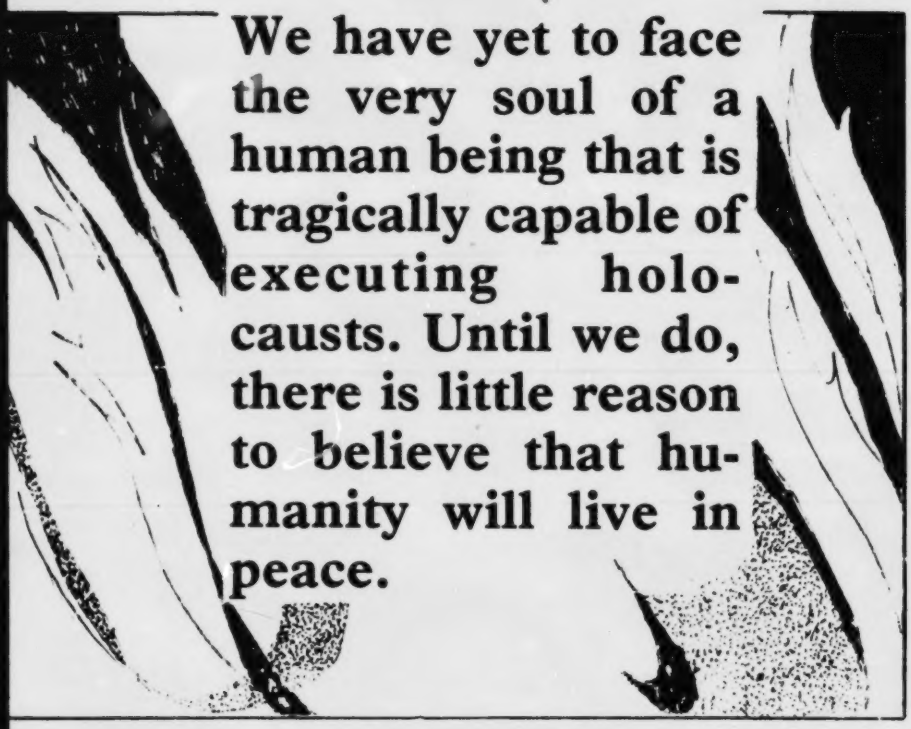
Recently, some ten years later, I was in the *Yad Vashem* library with my colleague, Dr. Chanan Rapaport. We were looking for pictures of the Holocaust to use in our forthcoming book about genocide to portray the universal tragedy of men, women and children as they are led to their deaths by their fellow human beings.

While we were awaiting material from the archives, I began browsing idly in the catalogue. I decided to pursue my question of some years back by looking up recent works about the sources of humankind's destructiveness and violence, from varied points of view: the social sciences, philosophy, theology, political science, international relations, art and literature. As I was not having much success locating various well-known, major works, I asked assistance of one of the librarians who had been very helpful to us.

"Are the books you are looking for about the Holocaust?" she asked a bit suspiciously.

"No, these books are about humanity's ability to commit genocide," I replied.

"Well, we don't carry books on any of that," she replied somewhat uncomfortably and, I thought, with some annoyance. "That's not our subject," she explained. "All we're concerned with is the Holocaust."



We have yet to face the very soul of a human being that is tragically capable of executing holocausts. Until we do, there is little reason to believe that humanity will live in peace.

Yet, obviously, the *story of the Holocaust of my own Jewish people is the universal story of humanity everywhere on our idiot, blood-soaked planet.* The tragedies and outrages of the Holocaust to my people are, at one and the same time, the never-ending tragedies and outrages to all peoples who have been decimated since the dawn of the human race or who may yet suffer this fate in unmarked dawns to come.

Psychiatrist Fishel Schneerson was a psychologist in Tel Aviv who called out back in deadly 1943:

> "We must alert the peoples of the entire world that the destruction of millions in Europe is not the tragedy of those millions alone, nor of the Jewish People mourning its sons, but this is a world-wide epidemic, in the fullest sense, that threatens death and destruction to the existence of humanity itself. Although everyone knows that the Jewish People are indeed the first victims of the Nazi destruction, they are neither the only ones nor the last. It is enough to recall the slaughter of the Gypsies that the Nazis are conducting in Europe according to their plan for eliminating inferior races, as well as the mass destruction of Soviet prisoners. This is the way of epidemics, the surest victims are the weak, but in the course of time none are spared and more and more victims are added."[1]

Do we know enough to ask questions that can be researched about the nature of human destructiveness?

It has to be overwhelmingly clear that we are terribly far from understanding the welter of forces that make it possible for human beings to commit genocide. And yet, in the late 1970's, it should also be clear that we now do know enough to ask many meaningful questions on the subject. We are beginning to perceive some of the individual and collective dynamics that make acts of genocide possible.

1. We know something not only about the role of the *leader* in mass murder (Haman, Hitler, Idi Amin and their kind), but also about the *ideology of dehumanization* of target peoples that justifies killing one's victims by identifying them as sub-human. In Konrad Lorenz's terms, the "sub-humans" become fair targets for nature's ways of violence between different species (whereas violence to one's own species, Lorenz emphasizes, is abhorred by animal species).[2]

2. We understand much more how human beings turn, unknowingly, to blind *conformity* to any authority, and even to repetitive routines simply because *doing what one is told to do or continuing to do what one is already doing is the course of least resistance for the ever-frightened member of our human species.*

Stanley Milgram's classic "Eichmann Experiment," where seemingly lethal electric shocks were administered to hapless subjects in a psychology experiment at the direction of the researcher, established once and for all the insane extremes of man's conformity to authority. Here there were no trappings of military command or of cruel SS authority, no ideology justifying cruelty to a sub-human victim, no danger in refusing to comply, and no rewards for complying; and yet, under a wide variety of experimental conditions, the majority of human beings agreed to "go all the way."[3]

3. We also know much more about people's needs to *order* things about them, even *to turn human beings into objects to be ordered at any cost,* and how, everywhere in the world, bureaucratic structures systematically shape people to fit into the existing scheme of things. This is what Hannah Arendt brilliantly called the "banality of evil,"[4] and what

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CHANAN RAPAPORT is Director of the Henrietta Szold National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences in Jerusalem with a staff of more than fifty behavioral scientists. He is a specialist in social indicator researches.

The proposal for a Genocide Early Warning System was originally formulated by Dr. Charny and was developed by him in collaboration with Dr. Rapaport. Both men are responsible for the chapter "Towards a Genocide Early Warning System" that is to be the concluding chapter of Dr. Charny's book, ***The Human Cancer,*** *and both authored the proposal for a pilot project of the Genocide Early Warning System published in a pamphlet by the Szold Institute in January, 1977.* *This article copyrighted by Israel Charny and Chanan Rapaport.*

the award-winning film, *One Flew Over The Cuckoo's Nest,* portrayed so vividly.[5]

4. We know furthermore how the structuring of *situations* and *institutions can bring out the power-crazed need of otherwise sane and sincere human beings by entrusting them with too much power over one another.* Stanford University social psychologist, Philip Zimbardo, effectively demonstrated this process in a jail simulation experiment in which some students assumed the roles of jailers and others the roles of prisoners. Within a few days the experiment had to be halted because the student jailers had taken to their new roles with an unexpected vengeance and cruelty.[6]

Something very similar happened in a less well-known experiment conducted some years ago at a pacifist summer conference on Grindstone Island, off Canada. The participants simulated an invasion of the island by an armed group which the "citizens" were to counter with nonviolent resistance. A shattering experience ensued when the "invaders," themselves committed pacifists, turned to violence and executions in their simulated roles.[7]

5. We are also making progress in understanding the fundamental experiences of life and death: *how humans, dreading death, will go to any length to deny their mortality.* Ernest Becker's Pulitzer-winning book, *The Denial of Death,* and his posthumous volume, *Escape From Evil,* provide an excellent panorama of this process.[8] Yale University psychiatrist Robert Lifton, in his study of the Hiroshima survivors, *Death in Life,*[9] offers penetrating observations.

Through these and other works, we are learning that people will go so far as to kill themselves or their spirits to spare themselves the many hurts and "deaths" of human experience as life unfolds toward its inevitable end. Many go mad in an effort to avoid the anguish of trying to feel alive while fighting off death, present and future. Psychoanalyst Harold Searles provides useful insights into this phenomenon in an exciting analysis of psychosis as a flight from the dread of death.[10]

6. Besides harming themselves in an attempt to escape the reality of death, *men and women assign their fellow human beings the doom they fear for themselves. In this way they assuage their anxiety with the illusion of an omnipotent control over life and death. Committing others to the ghoulish ridicule of incinerator and trash-heap deaths, they pretend they are not mortal.*

Says Ernest Becker: "This defiance gave us Hitler and Vietnam — a rage against our impotence, defiance of our animal condition, of our pathetic creature limitations. If we don't have the omnipotence of gods, we at least can destroy like gods."[11]

7. We also know more of how human beings stand by as *shamefully passive bystanders when their fellow human beings are hurt.* A variety of research has identified the condition of hurt and tragedy most likely to evoke the "bystander response." This kind of inaction was immortalized by the fate of Kitty Genovese, who was repeatedly knifed as 38 New York neighbors looked on, not one of them even phoning for help.[12]

How different is this behavior from the inhumanity of a world that remains impassive as millions of Jews are led to the gas chambers? And must not the Jewish people, too, question the quality and depth of their response to the tragedies of other far-off or unfamiliar peoples such as the Kurds or the Cambodians or the victims of Northern Ireland's everyday religious political terrorism?

Princeton University psychologist, John Darley, added an ironic dimension to an experiment about the bystander response. In the experimental situation, Protestant theological students on their way across campus encountered a groaning, coughing "victim" slumped in a doorway. The touch of raw irony, and an important experimental variation, was that some of these students had been asked to prepare a brief talk on the parable of the Good Samaritan, while the control group had been asked to prepare a talk on the neutral subject of vocations.

At the time of their encounter with the victim, the students were on their way to a lab across campus where they were to tape their speeches. A further variable was introduced by telling some of them that they were late for their session, others that they were due at the lab momentarily, and still others that they had plenty of time.

The results were that 60 percent of the theology students passed the victim by, and of those who did stop to help, only ten percent were those who had been told to hurry because they were late.[13]

8. We understand better how *forces of madness can inflame a whole society, demanding release in great collective orgies.* Elie Wiesel depicts this phenomenon in his allegorical book, *The Oath,* the story of a twentieth-century blood-libel pogrom in a small town.[14] Sociologist Neil Smelser describes it soberly in his trailblazing theory of collective behavior — though his book does not even mention the incredible collective behavior that comprises genocide.[15]

We now know a great deal about the contagion of violence and genocide, and also about the ingenious strategies genociders adopt to hide their actions from the rest of the world and even from their own people. "It Never Happened and Besides They Deserved It," a paper by psychologist Edward Opton, describes how "pervasive distortion in information" during the Vietnam war enabled Americans to deny the atrocities committed in their name.[16]

9. Painful as the subject is, we also know something of the *unwitting roles the victim peoples themselves play* in "inviting" and allowing their own destruction (not willfully, but nonetheless inevitably) by leaving themselves weak or by remaining "strangers" to the cul-

It seems consistent with nature's purpose that humans should struggle to meet death peacefully at the end of a long life, and not perish prematurely at the hands of other members of their own species.

tures and peoples around them. Sociologist, Vahkan Dadrian, an outstanding student of the genocide of the Armenians, offers penetrating comparisons of the holocausts of the Armenian and Jewish peoples.

"In the Armenian and Jewish cases, a unique combination of *vulnerability* and *definability* is seen as a factor which helped induce the respective perpetrators to consider radical measures against them. The awareness of historical antecedents of victimization of both peoples served to reinforce the criteria of selection and targeting."[17]

What is especially remarkable about many of the dynamics we have begun to understand is that *the same processes which play such "devil roles" in bringing about mass deaths tend in other contexts to support the constructive goals of socialization and creativity.* Thus, the drive for aggression and power, the desire to band together for the greater good of all and in commitments to great ideals, and the quest for "immortal" truths all reflect the human spirit in its godliest or most life-giving form.

Yet these same forces grow monstrous and lethal: People are corrupted and intoxicated by the opportunity for power and go to any lengths to prove their illusory immortality by asserting power over others. Identification with a group frequently turns from mutual support to frenzied derogation of others as undeserving and not-human. Too often people identify with their group to the point of blind conformity even when it moves toward unconscionable destructiveness. The very need for a sense of purpose and commitment and even the search for truth are turned to justifying the sacrifice of victims to a Moloch-God or to an ideology in whose name the killing is seemingly justified.

All of this is utterly terrifying. On the other hand, we do possess a real beginning understanding of these dilemmas of human existence and process. There is no reason why we cannot use that knowledge to recognize the danger points of qualities and quantitative transition where otherwise life-building forces turn into cancerous, life-destroying processes.

Isn't it simplistic to talk of preventing destructiveness?

So what if one understands more of the dynamics that bring human beings to execute the Holocaust and other genocides? The human being is primitive, our societies are imperfect, and mass murders have been going on since the beginnings of human history. All our social science concepts can't change the bitter reality of human destructiveness.

When I hear these kind of remarks (which is frequently), I find myself thinking about many other dread unsolved problems such as cancer or various fatal neurological diseases. It is true of many problems that for the longest time, the most that can be done is to observe the natural course of the disease process. It may take many years before a cure or preventive of the disease is developed.

Moreover, there is a strange, haunting rhythm to human existence in the way one disease replaces another and new ecological tragedies emerge when we have barely learned to live with the old ones. The inevitability with which death awaits all living matter suggests an awesome cosmic tragedy.

And yet, the glory of human existence surely lies in our steady, eager striving to embrace and extend life however much we can. It seems consistent with nature's purpose that humans should struggle to meet death peacefully at the end of a long life, and not perish prematurely at the hands of other members of their own species.

Towards A Genocide Early Warning System

While death is inevitable, genocide is not. In the belief that there are things we can do to reduce the likelihood of future genocides and slow or even halt ongoing slaughters, we propose the development of a "Genocide Early Warning System."

The major function of such a system would be to collect and report to the global community information about ongoing cases of genocide and major human rights violations around the world. The data collected would facilitate comparative analyses and research by scholars from different disciplines on how genocidal processes develop, with the goal of eventually being able to predict when and where genocides are likely to occur.

More immediately, however, the aim would be to inform the global community so as to bring the weight of world public opinion to bear on mass murderers. It could stimulate action by national and international agencies, both governmental and non-governmental, on behalf of victim peoples. And it could support efforts by the victims to organize themselves for defense against their killings.

To the best of our knowledge, there is no organization in the world today which systematically collects information regarding ongoing genocides or other gross violations of human rights and enters these into a computer data bank.

There are, of course, several international agencies, including some associated with the United Nations, which report on human fates around the world. The work of Amnesty International is an excellent example of the possibilities of building an increasingly respected voice for human rights concerns. However, Amnesty's work focuses largely on individual prisoners of conscience, and does not include systematic collations of large-scale data, nor studies of associated social indicators. In testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on International Relations in April, 1978, Prof. David Weisbrodt defined "the greatest problem facing nongovernmental organizations and researchers concerned about international human rights is the need for human rights documentation."[18] The development of a *Genocide Early Warning System,* as proposed in our forthcoming book, *'THE HUMAN CANCER'* would fill a crucial gap.

Outlined below is a proposal for a pilot project which would lay the groundwork for such a warning system. It was originally prepared in January, 1977, under the auspices of the Henrietta Szold National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences in Jerusalem.

RESEARCH ORGANIZATION AND PLAN

The major objective of the pilot project will be to develop a meaningful and usable computerized information system for recording and storing information on genocidal events and other human rights violations.

We propose to collect data over a period of one year and simultaneously to retrace the data of three preceding years. Data sources will be scanned for relevant news of genocide and other violations of civil liberties. These items will be identified and classified as to the following elements:

I MANIFEST DATA

1. EVENTS
2. PEOPLES
3. STAGES
4. REPORTED CAUSES (Overt and Background)
5. DATA SOURCES

II THEORY

Social Indicators in Time Sequence According to Theory

I-1, EVENTS: Reports of Genocide and Other Major Human Rights Violations.

Information will be collected on current acts of genocide all around the world, as well as on other major human rights violations that fall short of murder: torture, detention in concentration camps, imprisonment without due process, slavery, denial of the right to emigrate freely, denial of free speech, and so on, according to categories selected from the United Nations **Universal Declaration of Human Rights.**

I-2, PEOPLES. The above events will be recorded as to the nations or peoples involved, both as initiators and as targets. Our classification scheme is adapted, in part, from the system of **Peace Research Abstracts** and includes religious categories such as Jew, Christian, Hindu, Arab, etc., as well as ideological groupings.[2]

I-3, STAGES. The above events will also be classified according to the sequences or stages in which they occur, as reported by news sources.

I-4, REPORTED CAUSES. The overt causes or precipitants and the background causes and processes presumed to have led to the above events will be classified following the concepts used by the reporting source; e.g., dictatorial fiat, attempt to divert attention from internal problems, desire to appropriate economic resources of a victim people, religious ideology, etc.

I-5, DATA SOURCE. The data sources will be news-gathering agencies around the world which are judged as attaining relatively high levels of objectivity and accuracy in their reports. We will also utilize data from several specialized agencies which investigate and report various cases of genocide and human rights violations that are brought to their attention.

The utilization of reporting sources from various parts of the world will capitalize on the alertness and investigative resources of news agencies for events in their respective areas and should counter tendencies towards bias. Of course, there is no such thing as a complete or entirely accurate collection of data about human rights events, but a wide array of reasonably reliable information is available today — even about countries that attempt to suppress such information.

II. SOCIAL INDICATIONS OF POTENTIAL GENOCIDE. Each event will also be classified according to social indicators such as the value placed on human life, attitudes toward target peoples, the level of violence in the society and other psychocultural and institutional processes. An attempt will be made to identify patterns among these indicators associated with increasing violations of human rights and a momentum towards genocide. (A theory of the stages which may lead to genocide is developed by us in our forthcoming book.)

Entries of social indicators are further classified as to whether they represent critical incidents in the history of a people or larger ongoing processes within the society, and as to whether they stem primarily from the decision of a leader or leaders or from more impersonal societal processes.

III. COMPUTERIZATION: DATA ENTRY. Information will be entered into a computer data bank where it will be processed, sorted and correlated for periodic reports and testing of theories.

After identifying a relevant item, reader/analysts will underline or parenthesize each of the phrases relating to any of the predetermined categories. They will also assign the predetermined codes to identify the category and subcategories of the described event, stages, peoples, reported causes, etc. The verbal and coded information will be transferred via cassettes or I.B.M. cards into a form acceptable to the computer where all further checking, sorting, processing, correlating and listing of reports will be done. Computer programs and processing and retrieval of the above information will be written and tested.

English sources will be processed as is; non-English sources will be translated literally into English. The full text of the original sources will be stored on microfiche or microfilm.

IV. COMPILATION AND ANALYSIS. The information retrieval system will be used to:

(a) collate data from different reporting sources for a given event.

(b) assemble the data of human rights violations by given governments or peoples over a period of time.

(c) analyze groups of events such as the incidence of acts of genocide (over a given period of time).

(d) track sequences of events culminating in a genocidal event.

(e) study interactions between social indicators such as dehumanization of a target people and the occurrence of manifest acts of genocide and other violations of human rights.

(f) study the role of leaders and societal processes in building momentum toward genocide.

Note that at this stage of the pilot study *no effort will be made to predict future genocides.* In all cases, the data to be entered will be based on reports of actual events of genocide or other major infringements on human rights. Information on social indicators will be collected essentially in connection with these events.

The pilot project will not encompass long-range studies of social indicators which we believe are relevant to the buildup of genocide. However, it should also be noted that this pilot project derives from the larger conception of possible prediction studies which we de-

scribe in our forthcoming work.

Informing The World Public

The final objective of the pilot study will be to begin developing concepts and proposals for disseminating the information of the genocide and human rights data bank to the world via international television and radio; press reports; periodicals and magazines; reports to national governments; reports to various international organizations; reports to scientific organizations; publications; academic instructional programs and so on.

To achieve this objective, we propose a conference of invited media representatives, social scientists specializing in communications (including public opinion measurement), and advertising executives. The conference would consider the following questions:

- How can consciousness be raised and maintained about large-scale and prolonged events of injustice and cruelty?
- How can communication programs be designed to achieve maximum saturation?
- What dangers are inherent in oversaturation of news of human violence and despair?
- How should communication programs address the problem that people are naturally inclined to deny the experience of death, let alone death to masses of people.
- How can a communications program be directed towards mobilizing people and organizations to seek means to counter potential and ongoing genocide?

We propose to ask our invited experts to build a series of alternative communication programs, including "advertising-like" campaigns, which would seek to foster greater commitment to human life in general; to stimulate peoples' awareness of genocide and human rights violations (along with the ability to experience the information); and to encourage responsibility by news media to maintain continuity in reporting mass suffering, and to mobilize effective responses to atrocities.

Needless to say, such a conference would generate important directions for research on new ways to manage the unique problems of communication in these sensitive areas of human violence and tragedy.

Theoretical Model

The basic principle of a Genocide Early Warning System is that of an **information feedback system.** Ervin Laszlo describes this principle in his discussion of a more general "World System Research and Information Bureau":

"The theoretical principle . . . is an analogue of the technique known as biofeedback. It has become known in the last few years that the human being can exert unsuspected control over his or her body when informed of its relevant states and told what kind of states to strive for. One can regulate rate of heartbeat, circulation of blood in particular tension, and even the level of activity in one's brain . . .

"The lesson to be learned from biofeedback is that human beings have more plasticity and adaptive capacity than they are usually credited with. Currently there is an analogous scepticism concerning the plasticity and adaptability of social and cultural systems formed by human beings. It is likely, however, that these systems have large, and as yet untapped adaptive capacities as well. The method to this assumption, and at the same time to take effective steps to bring whatever capacities there are into play, is to apply the analogue of biofeedback to the world's human population."[20]

Incredible as it may seem, there not only have been (and are) genocides that were ignored by a world that was uncaring, or did not know how to care, but there have also been genocides that were virtually unknown until many years later. Only in 1966 did it become known that during World War II, 200,000 Meskaji, (a Turkish people of Islamic faith) living in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, were deported by the Soviets from the area of Meskatia, with heavy casualties resulting.[21]

We believe a Genocide Early Warning System would substantially prevent such atrocities from going undetected. Effective machinery for *repeated,* multi-media dissemination throughout the world of news of genocide and other major human rights violations would be developed.

Presently, even with worldwide news media, news of genocides appear largely in scattered reports. Characteristically, the media carry stories of genocide with little sense of urgency, and most stories are rapidly dropped even after initial electrifying reports of atrocities, when they are "no longer news." Nowhere, to our knowledge, is there provision for systematic, continuous coverage of such events, nor are there comprehensive archives to store information on past genocides.

Ultimately, what is needed is a system of world institutions with the authority of law to intervene and put an end to mass killings. Obviously, world order agencies are also needed to oversee the process of disarmament, and to address underlying issues of social and economic justice in access to the earth's resources.

Of course, although public opinion can be a powerful tool, it does have its limits as well. As any child knows, a megalomaniac will not easily open the doors of extermination camps to visiting investigators. (The Nazis, for example, maintained for some time a "demonstration camp" at Theresienstadt for the benefit of International Red Cross officials.) Nor would genociders necessarily stop determined plans to kill their victims just because an international agency makes inquiries.

Ultimately, what is needed is a system of world institutions with the authority of law to intervene and put an end to mass killings. Obviously, world-order agencies are also needed to oversee the process of disarmament, and to address underlying issues of social and economic justice in access to the earth's resources. In such a system, the "right" of a national government to abuse people within its area of jurisdiction would not be recognized. Oppressed peoples would have a body of higher authority to which they could appeal for relief.

In the meantime, a Genocide Early Warning System would be an invaluable tool and transitional step.

Under a world spotlight, the momentum of some genocidal processes might at least be slowed. As many observers have pointed out, genocidal campaigns usually do not reach their zenith until it becomes clear that it is possible to "get away with it."

Within the ranks of the genociding people, more dissidents might be emboldened to fight the genocidal policy. The roles of "unknowing" bystanders would be made far more uncomfortable. Suggested, persistent reporting by international news media might lead to more effective campaigns of self-defense and counter-attack. It might also alert some potential victims to imminent danger to their lives and enable them to flee in time. Considering the value of human life, this last objective alone would conceivably justify the entire cost of the project.

CHART 1

Genocide and Other Major Human Rights Violations

00 Genocide *(Article 3)*

00-1 Other mass murder — whether or not technically definable as genocide *(Article 3)*

01 Killing on a smaller scale, including denial of the individual right to life *(Article 3)*

02 Arbitrary arrest or detention *(Articles 4 and 9)*

03 Slavery or servitude *(Article 4)*

04 Torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment *(Article 5)*

05 Denial of the right to seek asylum in other countries *(Article 13)*

06 Denial of the right to return to one's country *(Article 13)*

07 Denial of the right to freedom of movement and residence within borders of the state *(Article 13)*

08 Denial of the right to recognition as a person before the law and equality before the law *(Articles 6 and 7)*

09 Denial of protection against discrimination and against incitement to discrimination *(Article 7)*

10 Denial of the right to effective remedy *(Article 8)*

11 Denial of the right to a fair and public hearing and the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty *(Article 11)*

12 Arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home or correspondence *(Article 12)*

13 Denial of the right to a nationality *(Article 15)*

14 Denial of freedom of thought, conscience and religion, and freedom of opinion and expression *(Articles 18 and 19)*

Conclusion

It is not enough to memorialize the millions of men, women and children lost to the savagery of fellow human beings who fed them unmercifully to lime pits, gas chambers and ovens. For though each such memorial is intended to cry out that never again do we dare allow such unpardonable tortures and murder, we are all silently aware of the horrifying truth that such memorials contribute only slightly to forestalling further repetitions of such atrocities.

In the terror of the night, we know how many times throughout history sickening holocausts have taken their deadly toll of precious human lives — of Jews and other peoples. Even now, at any given moment, genocide is taking place in different parts of the world and, as usual, is largely ignored and forgotten.

We have yet to face the very soul of a human being that is tragically capable of executing holocausts. Until we do, there is little reason to pretend humanity will live in peace.

Creation of a Genocide Early Warning System would be an important step in reducing the carnage. But there is much more that can be done. Efforts must be expanded to stimulate creative scholars in all relevant fields to seek ways of eradicating the cancer on human nature — to inquire how oft-loving persons turn into killers or bystanders indifferent to the fate of their fellow human beings. Investigation and experimentation is need on how human environments and the very evolution of the species might be redirected toward non-destructiveness.

A Genocide Early Warning System might evolve into a Center for the Study of Genocide, Human Rights and Human Potential for Peace. Such a center could sponsor the research to widen our preliminary understanding of the processes that lead to genocide. Murder will probably never vanish entirely from the face of the earth, but we ought to be able at least to prevent the widespread systematic elimination of a people. To fail to try would be a kind of death in itself. ■

(Articles refer to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

15 Denial of the freedom of peaceful assembly and association *(Article 20)*

16 Denial of the right to marry and found a family *(Article 16)*

17 Denial of the right to take part in the government of one's country and to periodic and genuine elections by universal and equal suffrage *(Articles 20 and 21)*

18 Denial of the right to work and the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of oneself and family *(Articles 23 and 25)*

19 Denial of the right to education *(Article 26)*

CHART 2

Stages

00 Events linked to key historical events and transitions

01 Events linked to key psychological events and transitions

02 Events linked to key social and cultural events and transitions

03 Events linked to key political and geographical events and transitions

04 Events linked to key communication events and transitions

05 Events linked to key military events and transitions

06 Events linked to key economic events and transitions

07 Events linked to key ideological and ethical events and transitions

08 Events linked to key religious events and transitions

09 Events linked to key nationalistic and racial events and transitions

10 Formulation of genocidal fantasy

20 Precipitating factors or context

30 Mobilization of means to genocide

40 Legalization and institutionalization of genocide

50 Execution of genocide

51 Denial of commission of genocide

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Dr. Hippchen has authored or edited seven professional books, and he has contributed to numerous journal publications in his field. A portion of this present article has been excerpted from the first chapter of a new book edited by Dr. Hippchen — INTERNATIONAL CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE — which will be published in 1981 by the Academic Press of Carolina, Durham, North Carolina. Other portions of the present article have been excerpted from a paper which Dr. Hippchen presented before the International Society of Criminology, meeting in conjunction with the United Nations Congress (sixth) on Crime Prevention and the Treatment of the Offender in Caracas, Venezuela, Aug. 25-Sept. 5, 1980. Dr. Hippchen also attended the Congress as a professional expert on invitation of the United Nations. At the Congress, 1,200 delegates and professional experts from 150 nations discussed the numerous problems related to world crime and disorder, focusing especially on the topics of criminality related to the abuse of economic and political power, standards for juvenile delinquency and correctional programs, crime prevention and the quality of life, improved criminal justice system planning, and social and economic planning for crime prevention.

A WORLD ORDER APPROACH TO CRIMINOLOGY

BY LEONARD HIPPCHEN

World criminology is a new, developing field of serious scholarly study. It has emerged only in very recent years in response to the increasing magnitude of global social disorder, namely those in the areas of violent crimes, terrorist activities, revolutions and wars. These problems, together with our increasing global problems of over-population, energy shortages, ecological hazards, and social injustice, threaten to produce social disorder the magnitude of which the world has not yet seen. The continuing arms build-up of the nations also represents a constant threat of world-wide nuclear holocaust.

Numerous scientists now are predicting that the next two decades will find the human species submerged under a barrage of severe catastrophes as these largely unchecked forces repeatedly reach crisis proportions.[1] The basis of an effective solution to these problems appears to have evaded the leaders of the world at the present time. The field of world criminology should greatly aid us in understanding the causative factors operating behind these problems. Further, world criminologists are challenged to discover and develop new approaches which might be used by the statesmen of the world to avert or lessen the impact of the predicted catastrophes.

This paper will review some of the major factors which appear to be related to the increase in world problems of social disorder. Then, different alternatives for dealing with crime will be examined: 1) System-maintaining, 2) System enhancing and 3) System transformation. Some major assumptions and principles will be identified and discussed which theoretically are important to a world order approach to international crime prevention. Finally, three major areas of subject matter concern for this new and developing criminology specialty will be examined.

FACTORS RELATED TO WORLD SOCIAL DISORDER

Social and behavioral scientists have been investigating causative or contributory factors to social disorder and human crime and deviance for many years. Three general theoretical explanations for these problems today tend to be supported by the empirical data: 1. Acceleration of social evolutionary development; 2. Continuing, serious levels of social injustices; and 3. Wide-spread moral decay.

ACCELERATION OF SOCIAL EVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT

A number of scientists in recent years have suggested that our problems of human and social disorder are the result of an evolutionary fact: we are at the end of one major cycle of human history and at the beginning of another. We are ending the evolutionary era of primitive barbarism and entering a new cycle of human maturity and true civilization. Whereas the earlier era used opportunism and power by force in solving its problems, the new era demands that the true reality of man and civilization be realized and that solutions be based upon empirically sound, humane facts, and cooperative endeavors.

Kurt Marek,[2] the renowned archeologist, for example, has observed: "We, in the Twentieth Century, are concluding an era of mankind five thousand years in length . . . We open our eyes like prehistoric men; we see a world totally new." And Robert Oppenheimer,[3] the outstanding physicist, has exclaimed: "This world of ours is a new world, in which the unity of knowledge, the nature of human communities, the order of society, the order of ideas, the very notions of society and culture have changed, and will not return to what they have been in the past."

A similar analysis of our times has been made by many persons representative of the humanities. For example, Alvin Toffler,[4] the journalist, has commented: "We are now living through the second great divide in human history, comparable in magnitude only with the first break in historic continuity — the shift from barbarism to civilization." Shoghi Effendi,[5] the religious leader, has declared that the emergence of the present day world civilization represents the consummation of human evolution — "an evolution that has had its earliest beginnings in the birth of family life, its subsequent development in the achievement of tribal solidarity, leading in turn to the constitution of the city-state, and expanding later into the institution of independent and sovereign nations." The evolutionary goal toward which humankind inevitably is headed, he says, is world equality, world justice, world unity, and, eventually, world peace.

This new major cycle in social evolution on our planet, which appears to have been greatly accelerated beginning about the middle of the Nineteenth Century, has had a two-fold impact on the modern person, one positive and the other negative. The range of this development, notwithstanding the extensive findings of science during the past 125 years, can yet only be dimly envisioned, for undoubtedly it extends for many centuries into the future. H.G. Wells,[6] the historian, has caught something of this vision in the following comment: "The past is but the beginning of the beginning, and all that is and has been is but the twilight of the dawn. A day will come when beings who are latent in our thoughts and hidden in our loins . . . shall reach out their hands amid the stars." This may be a reference to the possibilities for future inter-planetary and inter-galactic communication and travel.

This vastly expanded evolutionary force already has resulted in the development of thousands of new discoveries in the physical sciences, and it has given birth to the new social and behaviorial sciences. The present evolutionary period has seen numerous technological advances, and an acceleration of human population on this planet. In many parts of the world industrialization has brought rapidly developing urban areas, education and the arts, improved transportation and communication, and a higher standard of living. These have represented advances for humankind.

However, these evolutionary developments are not all a blessing; many problems have accompanied them, and at the present time many of these problems have reached crisis proportions. Mesarovic and Pestel[7] have stated that the crises today are multiple and unprecedented. They list five areas of crisis: over-population, environmental pollution, world food shortages, energy shortages, and raw materials shortages. Falk[8] has identified a similar list: population pressure, multiple forms of pollution, resource depletion, and dangers of wars of mass destruction.

Most writers on this subject of crises and projections of crises agree that a solution to these problems is not possible as long as another problem exists — that of nationalism. They point out that a world of sovereign states cannot successfully cope with problems of this magnitude. Each nation is motivated by its own national self-interest. Thus, international relations tend to be dominated by conflict and competition. Each nation focuses on its own economic growth, political stability and international prestige. There are no effective world structures, nor is there any true desire and motivation among the nations for cooperation and crisis resolution.

Continuing, Serious Levels of Social Injustice

Social justice is concerned with basic human needs and rights. Tinberger[9] has provided a conceptual framework for social justice by stating that a fundamental aim of world community should be to achieve a life of dignity and well-being for all the citizens of the world. In order to achieve this goal, he suggests that social justice requires implementation of six guiding elements: equity, freedom, democratic participation, solidarity, cultural diversity, and environmental integrity.

Equity sees all human beings of equal value. It is opposed to prejudice and prejudicial treatment of people in any of its many forms: religious, racial, national, status, economic, sex, etc. Equity strives for equality of opportunity for all, especially in the areas of education and economic development. It also involves the desire to reduce inequality in the distribution of material goods and wealth, and an effort to provide minimum physical needs for all people which is compatible with adequate levels of well-being and human functioning.

Individuals as well as nations need a certain degree of freedom in which to grow and develop. However, freedom can lead to harm of other persons or nations. Thus, freedom must be restricted to those forms of behavior which do not involve harm or a limitation of freedom to others. Freedom also implies an obligation to deal with others in a just and responsible manner. These inalienable and inviolable rights and duties, considering civil, political, economic and social rights, were defined in the 1968 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Democratic participation is considered necessary to the achievement of social justice. Participation of individual citizens includes contributions of ideas as well as assurance of a voice in social and economic policies affecting their well-being.

Solidarity or unity of effort toward the goal of social justice is imperative. As long as people and nations exhibit disunity and competition for self-oriented goals, social justice cannot be achieved. Without solidarity of effort among the nations and peoples of the world it will be impossible to mobilize the will and resources needed to achieve the goal of social justice.

Cultural diversity recognizes the need and right of each cultural group to pursue its goals within its own

cultural context. Cultural diversity attempts to preserve the best of each culture, as it may contribute also to a whole of greater charm and grace. Diversity, thus, is seen as a positive contribution to the whole of humanity.

If we assume that the function of government is to assist its people in provision of their needs and to protect their rights and just interest, then we must say that the history of governments on this planet is one largely of failure. Far too often, rulers and other governmental leaders have used their positions to their own egotistic ends. They have maintained power by force, overtaxed and misused the labor capacities of their people for selfish purposes, and kept them in ignorance, disease, malnutrition, poverty, slavery, and other assorted forms of human misery and oppression. Further, they have allowed and encouraged selfish business and religious leaders to maintain unjust relations with the people and given them authority to maintain their self-serving positions of status and power. With no effective global authority to hold nation-states accountable, and with individual citizens having no recourse to an authority beyond a regime which may be oppressive, citizens have either submitted in powerlessness or have resorted to violent revolution.

How many of the riots, strikes, revolutions, terrorist activities, wars, crimes, delinquent acts are direct expressions of uprisings of the masses in opposition to these multitudinous injustices?[10] We do not know, but there is ample testimony by many of the leaders of these anti-social groups that unjust treatment of the people is the primary source of motivation for their acts. Certainly, it can be expected that the development of a more socially just world would contribute immeasurably to a reduction in these forms of social disorder, and that social justice is a necessary ingredient to attainment of world peace.

Wide-spread Moral Decay

Wagar[11] has stated that "man is a religious animal with a will to believe and a need to be gripped by ultimate concern." Yet, the Twentieth Century fulfills the Nietzsche prophesy that God is dead. Hedonism is the guiding principle for vast numbers, and materialism stands as the new god. Falk[12] has emphasized that disbelief in immortality may contribute to a reckless attitude toward the future and may cause resentment which expresses itself through destructive and self-destructive forms of behavior.

As the early sociologist Durkheim[13] theorized, the breakdown of the old social order, especially the institution of the Church, has left humans alone and rudderless. We face anomie and are alienated. Without a form through which we can express our spiritual nature and develop our spiritual capacities, we lose the guidance and sustenance from our Source. We have increasingly become separated from God, from each other and from self.

Toynbee,[14] Wagar[15] and a host of other historians have concluded from their studies that civilization cannot long survive without religion — true religion. When true religion leaves, the false religions and cults arise to take their place. Social disorder increases, religious, political, business and social leaders lose their effectiveness in guiding the people, and civilization comes to a standstill. History tells us repeatedly that when societies lose their contact with the Creator and Prophets, they endure extensive suffering and engage in numerous deviant, criminal, and non-ethical acts. If this disease becomes widespread, certainly that civilization will fall. Many feel that our present times represent such a condition and such a possibility.[16]

The problem of world social disorder theoretically has been defined to encompass three major causative elements: an accelerated cycle of human and social evolution; continuation of extensive and serious degrees of social injustice throughout the world about which our eyes now are being opened; and rampant and pervasive moral decay.

The question then arises, how can the world community best deal with the world social disorder that threatens human survival and well-being?

INTERNATIONAL CRIME CONTROL ALTERNATIVES

International crime control alternatives can be viewed historically and analyzed from three general perspectives: 1. System maintaining; 2. System enhancing; and 3. System transformation.

The *system maintaining approach* focuses social policy and financing toward the specific sub-sectors of the criminal justice system. It involves planning to expand or improve the efficiency or effectiveness of law enforcement agencies, of judicial programs, of correctional institutions, or of juvenile delinquency agencies. Planning is specific to the individual agency. This is the oldest and most widely used approach today throughout the world.

The *system enhancing approach* concerns public policy planning and financing for the criminal justice system as a whole. It also includes comprehensive governmental social and economic planning with an aim towards crime prevention. Comprehensive planning also incorporates due regard to human rights issues, with emphasis on human needs and the quality of life. However, these concerns are limited to national boundaries.

System transformation approaches emphasize changing the total political, economic and social structures of the nations of the world into a new, unified whole of interrelated systems. This approach attempts to develop an integrated strategy of change explicitly guided by universal world order values such as freedom, justice, cooperation, non-violence, equality, and unity with diversity.[17]

The following is a brief review of the major features of each of these alternative approaches to international crime control, and an assessment of current and future trends in each of these areas.

SYSTEM MAINTAINING APPROACH TO CRIME CONTROL

Several assumptions concerning crime and crime control are implied in the system maintaining approach.

Crime tends to be seen primarily as an individual rather than as a social problem. Crime also may be seen as purely a local phenomenon, sometimes leading to such practices as attempting merely to move the crime element out of the community.

The system maintaining approach assumes that the existing political, economic and social institutional structures, and the values which undergird these structures, are proper and that they are to be maintained by the criminal justice system. Maintaining the existing social order is the primary goal. It is assumed that most people in the community support the existing value structure and that the purpose of the law is to support these community norms. It is assumed further that the most effective way to maintain social order is to enforce the law through threat of punishment. It is assumed that punishment of criminal acts both will discourage potential criminals in the community and reform existing criminals. Punishment thus is the primary weapon in this approach to deterrence or prevention of crime.

The System Transforming approach requires restructuring and integration of the major political, social, religious and educational structures along global lines.

It contends that special policy planning for crime prevention and control must be conducted on a coordinated *global* basis if it is to be effective.

In the system maintaining approach, the correctional system is seen as functioning primarily to punish violators of the law, especially those who pose a violent threat to the established social order. If rehabilitation is introduced, it is only as a means of preparing the offender to better adjust to the socio-cultual norms upon release with the hope that this will result in a reduced threat to social order.

SYSTEM ENHANCING APPROACH TO CRIME CONTROL

The basic principle behind the system enhancing approach to crime control is that crime prevention and control should be undertaken as a part of broad governmental economic and social development planning. This approach assumes: 1. That crime is related to unjust socio-economic conditions, ie., poverty, class prejudice, starvation, illiteracy; 2. That crime is related to unjust political conditions, ie., stifling of political and civil rights, such as freedom, equality, self-determination; and 3. That crime is related to a decline in behavior-controlling moral values, leading to massive alienation.

Background of the Approach

In the early part of the 20th Century the relationship between economic and social development and criminality was widely recognized at the international level. It was considered at that time that a social policy of improved education, employment, income and housing could offer alternative means of protecting society from crime. This was conceived as an indirect approach to the prevention of crime rather than use of direct punishment as a deterrent to criminals. Treatment of offenders was seen as the last line of defense in the protection of society, but treatment was to be conducted in humane settings, with constructive correction of offender behavior as a primary goal. This approach was known as "social defense" on the European continent.

According to Wickwar[18] the "social defense" concept was slow to develop before World War II, especially in the developed nations of the world. The developed nations were influenced by the finding that materialism tended to increase crime, so they moved away from comprehensive economic and social planning in their approach to crime control. Rather, they returned to support the concepts of more traditional justice, and focused attention on the special needs of individual offenders, especially the disadvantaged.

The developing nations, on the other hand, tended to see crime as related to lack of economic and social development. Hence, they pursued "social defense" policies to a greater degree than did the developed nations, focusing on community development for crime prevention rather than on control and/or treatment of individual offenders.

By 1960, it was obvious to most governments of the world that economic growth could not by itself eliminate social disorder, and there was a general return to interest in a criminal policy that would focus on the protection of society. The emphasis now began to turn toward concern for total cultural changing patterns, with political and social change seen to be as important as economic growth.

In 1965, the basic principle of protection of society for prevention and control of crime was endorsed by the United Nations Economic and Social Council. In 1970, participants at the 4th United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention and Treatment of the Offender noted the increased urgency of the need for nations to improve their economic and social planning, taking into account the effects that urbanization, industrialization and the technological revolution may have on the quality of life and the human environment. They recommended that each nation take effective stepts to coordinate and intensify its crime prevention efforts within the context of its social and economic development.[19]

SYSTEM TRANSFORMING APPROACH TO CRIME CONTROL

Adherents of the system transformation approach to crime control feel that the planet is fast evolving into a single village, and that the protection of society and the development of world order and advancement is con-

tingent upon the development of effective global machinery and a will to cooperation among the nations of the world.

Scholars of the World Order Models Project[20] suggest that the five major problems facing humankind today include war, poverty, social injustice, environmental decay, and alienation or lack of participation in decision-making. They feel that the world is fast moving toward a series of serious collisions and that as presently constituted it is running out of control.

The system transformation approach holds that the present political, social, economic and cultural structures of the nations of the world basically are designed to support the selfish needs of those in power. They contend that these structures only can be transformed into those which serve the needs and rights of the people through establishment of a world government with sufficient authority to achieve the needed changes, however gradual these changes may need to be made. It is seen that the concept of exclusive national sovereignty in a world of interdependent nations today not only is out-of-date but that it is a major obstacle to the solution of many of our problems of world social disorder: war, revolution, terrorism, abuse of power, trafficking in drugs and narcotics, delinquency and crime.

The system transformation approach holds that problems of world social disorder best can be addressed through establishment of a representative form of world government, which can plan for development of increasing degrees of social justice throughout the world. It is held that this goal can be accomplished best through cooperative planning for more equitable distribution of the world's economic resources, for the elimination of wars of aggression, for control and resolution of ecological problems, for providing for more effective planetary education, health, welfare, science and the arts, for development of a universal language and a world mass media, etc.

This world government would need to have adequate taxing authority, and it would need to establish a World Executive, with such supporting agencies as a World Legislature, a World Supreme Tribunal and a World Law, a World Peace Force, a World Health, Education and Welfare agency, and other related agencies to carry out its policy objectives. Most of all, it would require the will of the leaders of the nations of the world to sacrifice some of their immediate goals and to cooperate in long-range planning for the good of the whole world, especially regarding survival issues such as war prevention, protection of the biosphere, human rights, food sufficiency, resource security, economic security, etc.

This approach envisions the gradual transformation of the present political, economic, and social systems of the nations of the world from that of primarily self-serving interest to engagement in cooperative enterprises aimed at mutual and collective advancement of the whole of humankind. The assumption behind this approach is that crime control and prevention cannot be far advanced as long as national interests are paramount in collaborative efforts, and that there must be established a world agency, truly representative of the nations of the world, with sufficient sovereign power to carry out a program of planned social justice and peace in the world.

We have stated that crime control alternatives in the world can be viewed from three vantage-points: the *system maintaining approach,* the *system enhancing approach,* and the *system transformation approach.*

The *system maintaining approach* is the oldest, most frequently used approach in use today throughout the world. It has apparent advantage for the direct and easy control of individual criminals. It appears, however, only to have short-term utility. We would contend that it is more appropriate to earlier forms of social groupings, such as the village and small town, but that it is quite inefficient, especially for the developed countries. Its ability to deal with long-term crime control is extremely limited, since it fails to take into account the numerous political, economic, social and cultural aspects of crime and other forms of social disorder. It also fails to consider the total, long-term development of community life and questions of social justice.

World criminology chooses values such as dignity, responsible freedom, cooperation, service to humankind, participation; and for the world: equity, social justice, unity with diversity, world order, and the higher advancement of civilization.

The *system enhancing approach* emerged as a 20th century idea. It was supported by a UNESCO declaration in 1965. It has been increasingly emphasized as a desirable goal of nations by United Nations Congress delegates at the 1970 and 1975 meetings, and, especially was emphasized at the 1980 meetings in Caracas, Venezuela.

An important characteristic of this approach is that it focuses on economic and social causes of crime as well as the impact of the criminal justice system on crime. It advocates comprehensive governmental economic and social planning and broad criminal justice sectoral planning for crime prevention and control. It emphasizes the societal aspects of crime causation in prevention programming, while including humane and effective rehabilitation of delinquents and criminals in its later stages. It considers universal needs and rights as they may relate to injustice and its resultant social disorder.

A major limitation of this approach is that since its planning and policy recommendations are limited to the nation-state system of government, it is unable to provide effective global mechanisms for dealing with many of the emerging forms of international disorder: traditional and nuclear war, revolutions, terrorism, trafficking in drugs and narcotics, ecological disorders, energy problems, economic disparity, etc.

This system enhancing approach is in only limited

use at the present time, even though it has been advocated by United Nations bodies since at least 1965. It would appear that feelings of excessive national sovereignty on the part of leaders of the world's nations is a major obstacle to its further implementation.

The *system transformation approach* emerged as a concept following World War II with the World Federalists and other organizations intent on an end to war. It has been given further impetus by the Institute for World Order, Global Education Associates and numerous other organizations working for world peace.

This approach considers crime and social unrest from an interrelated human and planetary perspective, focusing on human values and the need for human fulfillment. It defines criminal activity more broadly to include not only individual or group aberrant behavior, but also actions of nation-states that violate human rights, transgress against other nations, destroy or erode the common life support system, deprive people of basic needs, and other crimes against humanity and the planet.

It requires the restructuring and integration of the major political, social, religious and educational structures along global lines. It contends that social policy planning for crime prevention and control must be conducted on a coordinated *global* basis if it is to be effective.

The weakness of the system transformation approach is that leaders of nations of the world at present do not appear to have the will to organize an effective world government, since this would mean giving up a part of their national sovereignty. A world government, to be effective, would require certain powers, ie., taxing authority, and the right to control agressive wars between nations, while advancing coordinated economic and social plans for world development. Before this approach could be workable, the leaders of the world's nations would need to be convinced that the advantages of a cooperative world government outweigh the advantages of complete national sovereignty, and they would need to be willing to experiment with this new approach to world problems. Another world catastrophe, or a series of world-shaking catastrophes, may yet occur before the nations are brought to this realization.

Nevertheless, it is important to attempt to avert global catastrophe by working now toward the development of sane alternatives.

SOME ASSUMPTIONS & PRINCIPLES OF A WORLD CRIMINOLOGY APPROACH

Before effective solutions to the problem of world social disorder can be found, an entirely new set of assumptions about human nature and society will need to be made. New operational principles also will need to be invoked. This will require a breaking with many of the ideas and traditions of the past, something which is extremely difficult for most persons to do since humans tend to be tradition-bound.

The following assumptions and principles of operation are suggested as a basis upon which planning for a new world social order might be built.

1. The whole of humankind is interrelated and interdependent.

Our assumption is that humankind makes up a single organism. We come from the same Creative original source, and we have the same central purpose of evolution. Humankind can be viewed as one whole, a unity. The true state of humanity is as a family.

Every person is related by species, origin, and purpose to every other person on this planet. The welfare of the part is also the welfare of the whole. If one part suffers, the whole also suffers; if one part is advanced, the whole should advance. This is justice. Consciousness of the oneness of humankind is a necessary principle behind any realistic plan for social order and peace on this planet. Such an evolutionary awareness appears to be emerging now at a rapid pace.

Consciousness of our oneness is the most powerful way to approach the problem of prejudice in the world, especially the prejudices of race, status and sex. It also has important implications for political and economic prejudices, and for the problem of excessive nationalism.

The emerging awareness of the great inequities between the rich and poor nations of the world, an awareness of the world's increasing ecological problems and its energy shortages, and an awareness that we have only a limited amount of resources of air, land, and water on this planet are aspects of the knowledge that the human species is interdependent. All peoples and nations are being seen as needing one another's help, since none are all-sufficient unto themselves. Political and economic problems of the smaller nations affect the larger nations and vice versa. The need for cooperation and unity of action everywhere is beginning to become apparent, even to some former staunch advocates of isolationism. Competition between the superpowers has failed, as has detente; the need for an international organism which can deal with the interdependency of the nations is fast coming into the awareness of many of the world's leaders.

2. The unity of humankind should be viewed both in terms of its wholeness and its diversity.

The assumption of the oneness of humanity needs to be parallelled with an assumption of human diversity. As we are made up of innumerable and diverse molecular parts — each performing a vital function in relation to the whole — so humankind as a unified organism consists of a variety of peoples, races, sexes and cultures.

The principle of unity with diversity negates the idea that oneness means sameness. The true reality of humankind, as throughout nature, is that all forms and evolutionary levels of created life have their diverse elements. The diversity of the functional part is necessary to effective total functioning; their existence, excellence of operation and beauty all depend upon the law of diversity in unity.

As an operational principle, unity with diversity means, first of all, that each person has a vital, important part to play in the life of the whole. Thus, the value of each person should be seen, each person's talents and abilities should be aided in development, and these qualities, in turn, should be dedicated to the advancement of hu-

mankind as a whole.

The principle of unity with diversity also means that the peoples of the various races, nations and regional cultural groups have equal dignity and rights as part of the whole of humankind. Thus, each race, each nation, and each regional cultural group should be encouraged and supported in maintaining its own unique qualities and abilities, while being seen as an important part of a universal family. Likewise, it means that women, universally, should be given equal rights and opportunities for personal growth with men.

3. *The concept of nationalism must be superseded by the concept of transnationalism, and an effective structure and organization of world govenment must be established.*

The concept of nationalism was more appropriate in the world at a time when the cities and smaller states were aligning themselves into larger political units for purposes of security and economic advantage. This process is continuing in some parts of the world even today, but for the most part, nation-building and even de-colonization is completed.

Toynbee[21] wrote that nationalism had become by far the most powerful of all religions. People would fight and die to support its powerful ideology. Nevertheless, nation-states in themselves are no longer adequate units for meeting the needs or ensuring the survival of societies. The only concept appropriate to the needs of an interdependent world and a common humanity is transnational.

It is not that the idea of nationalism should be eliminated. Allegiance to the lesser social groupings of the family, the village, the city, the state, the nation, still have their relative importance. But our highest loyalty and allegiance — for the sake of human survival and the advancement of a world civilization — should be given to humanity as a whole. Such a planetary allegiance naturally would lead to an outlawing of war. When one nation declared war on another nation this would constitute an internationally recognized criminal act. A world police force could arrest such action, and a world court could arbitrate and initiate corrective action. This would be manifest social justice.

As far as costs for the operation of a world government are concerned, the savings from the costs of war, and the costs of maintaining armaments and armed forces in preparation for war, alone would be more than sufficient to finance its entire program. In addition, however, through its control and coordination function, together with its programs of material and human development, it could vastly increase the total of resources available to humankind.

4. *The structural design of a world government should encourage universal participation at local, national and international levels.*

Universal participation should be a vital principle for operation of a world government. Effective participation assumes a certain degree of education, and large masses of people in the world, still today, are not even literate.

5. *The principle of social justice should be the guiding light of world governance.*

A primary effort of a world government should be, on the one hand, the opposition of all forms of social injustice on this planet, and, on the other, development and implementation of programs contributory toward attaining a higher level of social justice.

All forms of social injustice first will be defined as crimes and carry sanctions and other suitable forms of punishment for violators. Aggressive wars should be outlawed. Revolutions, riots, terrorist activities and similar forms of violence should be defined as criminal acts. Concommitantly, means should be provided citizen groups to air and win redress for legitimate grievances so that aggressive acts against tyranny might be avoided.

Persons or nations acting in prejudicial, persecutory manner against people because of religion, race, status, or sex should be perceived as guilty of criminal acts. The political freedoms of free speech, free assembly and of a free press should be maintained, and protections against unfair civil and criminal actions of the nations or of people against people should be instituted.

But it is now possible to reduce illiteracy and finally eradicate it throughout the world. Eventually the masses also could learn the rudiments of economic, political and social participation so that their actions would be based upon knowledgeable principles and techniques. Thus, a primary goal of a world government in carrying out this principle of participation, would need to include education.

A secondary principle which would be needed to allow effective universal participation concerns the structure and authority source of a world government. The structure logically would have three levels: international, national, and local. For most effective participation, however, emphasis would need to be placed at the local level. This is where the people live and act out whatever policies are decided upon. Thus, most of the authority, both for policy setting and taxation, logically should reside in each locality. This would allow participation to have meaning, where the people could participate in policy, planning, and implementation without extensive need for assistance from the national and transnational bodies. This would allow much greater opportunity for the development of self-reliance, and should result in more responsible, innovative, pertinent, and effective local government.

Under a structural plan where localities have most of the authority and taxation powers with which to carry out their programs, national and transnational groups would have elected representatives who performed primarily coordinating functions. Operating within the broad framework of social justice goals and principles, these bodies would concentrate primarily on assisting localities in need and facilitating exchanges and benefits between the various nations and local groups. They would arbitrate disputes, correct wrongs, and provide a secure and just world-wide environmental setting. They would manage and develop the basic resources on this planet and provide means for resource development, especially in underprivileged areas of the world.

Social justice programs initially should focus on improvements in meeting the human physical and safety needs of all citizens of the world, ie., food, housing, clothing, health care, work, old age benefits. Equally important should be the provision of a basic education program for all peoples.

Social justice will be achieved when the major forms of injustice are brought more under control, and adequate programs to meet the basic needs and rights of persons everywhere are effectively implemented.

THE APPROACH AND SUBJECT MATTER OF WORLD CRIMINOLOGY

The Approach of World Criminology

World criminology represents in many ways a strikingly different approach to scientific study compared with earlier emphases in science. Table 1 lists nine significant differences between the old and new approaches.

The old approach to science tended to emphasize study of the parts rather than the whole, or of the parts in relation to the whole. This emphasis has led to a great deal of specialization in science, and to neglect of the whole. We live in an age of over-specialized science. Each science specialty concentrates on intensive study of the parts of man and the world, but we have lost the meaning of the part of the whole. Since we have lost this meaning, we often cannot see or solve the problem of the whole.

World criminology attempts to study the whole person — including physical, mental and spiritual qualities. It attempts to study human beings as a species — biologically, psychologically, socially, politically, etc. — as a means of understanding our functional problems as humans as well as to solve our social problems worldwide.

The old science attempted to be objective by avoiding value statements and judgments. But in an attempt to develop a value-free science, scientists found that this kind of reasoning could lead to the development and dropping of nuclear weapons and the killing of millions of people. They found that to have no values not only is impossible, but that it can lead to self-destruction.

CONTRASTING APPROACHES TO SCIENTIFIC STUDY

Old Science

1. uses inductive methods only, reasoning from the part to the whole, from the simple to the universal.

2. study of parts primarily.

3. aimed toward development of pure knowledge.

4. objective, value free.

5. single disciplinary studies.

6. oriented towards past and present.

7. interest in pure theory building and testing.

8. interest in empirical studies.

9. non-involvement with public policy.

New Science

1. uses both inductive and deductive reasoning from part to whole and from the whole to the part.

2. study of parts and wholes.

3. aimed primarily toward development of applied knowledge.

4. includes study of values.

5. multi-disciplinary studies.

6. oriented towards present and future.

7. interest in applied theory building and testing.

8. interest in building and testing of models and systems for preferred worlds.

9. attempts to influence public policy.

World criminology contends that science inevitably is involved with values, that one cannot avoid values as a human being. The only question is what kind of values will science choose? World criminology for individuals chooses values such as dignity, responsible freedom, cooperation, service to humankind, participation; and for the world: equity, social justice, unity with diversity, world order, and the higher advancement of civilization.

The older science tended to want to remain aloof and uninvolved with the on-going problems of the world. Its aim was to study in laboratories various areas of phenomena and to build knowledge which one day, when perfected to a high degree, might prove useful to humanity. The problem here is that the world might be destroyed before knowledge is sufficiently perfected!

World criminology tends to emphasize applied knowledge, the development of preferred worlds, and the testing and refinement of operational models which now can be used to aid humankind in solution of its problems. It holds that scientists can and should make contributions to the development of a better world, and that they should use their knowledge and influence in an attempt to impact upon public policy formation and world development.

THE SUBJECT MATTER OF WORLD CRIMINOLOGY

World criminology has three major areas of interest: comparative criminology and criminal justice systems; special problems; and the development of world models.

Comparative criminology and criminal justice. Comparative criminology investigates the similarities and differences between the various cultures of the world in their patterns of social disorder. It not only describes these differences and similarities from a global perspective, but it searches for causal factors which may be universal or peculiar to specific cultures. It also investigates the various forms of social disorder throughout the world, and identifies variations in these forms because of such factors

as race, religion, economics, culture, society, sex, etc.

The study of comparative criminal justice systems investigates the various philosophical bases of police, courts and the criminal law, and corrections operations. It also traces similarities and differences in criminal justice agency organization, staffing, procedures and processes, especially as they relate to the major regional cultural patterns of the world. It studies uniformities and uniquenesses of ethical systems as they relate to criminal justice practice.

Special Problem Areas. World criminology also studies the host of emerging special problems that are significantly related to world order. Especially important are those forms of social disorder that are a threat to world peace, or that involve various forms of social injustice or deviance. These might include, for example, terrorism, skyjacking, riots, revolutions, trafficking in alcohol and narcotics, international white collar crime, genocide, organized crime, interpersonal violence, arms control and disarmament, law of the seas, airwaves, outer space, sectoral and sub-sectoral planning for crime control, socio-economic planning for crime prevention, and control of environmental hazards.

World criminology not only attempts to describe and identify the root causes of these special problems, but recommends lines of public policy and program action towards their resolution.

Development of World Models. The third area of concern to world criminology is in the further identification of the causes of world disorder and in the development of preferred world models.[22] The following types of questions are important in this area of investigation:

1. What is *social justice,* and how can it be attained?

2. What is the relationship between *social justice* and *world peace?*

3. How do *equality, freedom, order, law,* and the *advancement of People* and *Society* relate to social justice?

4. What is the true *nature* of Person?

5. What are the obstacles to Human *development,* and how can these obstacles be overcome?

6. What are some of the more effective methods available to help people with their *transformation,* and how can programs be devised and implemented to aid this process?

7. What are the *major obstacles to community* and the *advancement of civilization,* and how can these be overcome?

8. What would be the structural concepts needed for a *just world government* model? How would this world government be organized, its leaders selected, its processes and procedures be developed for effective operation?

9. How would a *world criminal justice system* be organized and operated?

10. What types of *laws* would be needed, and how would they be *enforced?* How would a *world peace force* organize and operate?

11. How would a *world correctional system* be developed and coordinated? How would new and more effective means be developed for correcting criminal behavior?

12. What are the major structural concepts needed for a *just world economic system?* How might these be implemented? What type of taxing system is needed? How can the needs of Capital and Labor be reconciled?

13. What are the major structural concepts needed for a *true world religion,* and how might these be implemented?

14. What are the major structural and process concepts needed for a true *world family model,* and how might these be implemented?

15. What are the basic principles and components of *world education,* both basic and advanced, and how might these be implemented?

16. What are basic food, shelter, health and welfare needs world-wide, and how can these be met?

17. How best can the ecological problems be solved on a world-wide basis?

18. How can *world science, art, language, mass media, communications, and transportation systems* be developed and implemented?

19. How can we develop *uniform crime statistics* on a world basis?

20. What criteria are needed to develop an *index of social justice,* and how can this index be applied to each country of the world to develop a *relative measure* of *social justice* of the world at specific points in time?

21. How can a social justice model best allow for *transitional stages* in moving over the next five hundred years toward a more specific realization of the major goal of achieving a more just world?

22. How can a social justice model maintain a balance between the needs for *individuality* and *individual creative expression* while holding forth a whole-world model which can enlist man's highest allegiance?

23. How can a social justice model maintain world peace and a *cooperative base* of *working together* among the nations while meeting the diverse national and cultural needs of the various parts of the world?

24. How can a social justice model work for *world order* and *peace* and yet meet the *needs* of the "third," "fourth" and "fifth" nations of the world?

25. Finally, how can the efforts of *world-oriented scientists* best be *mobilized* for a cooperative undertaking approaching the questions raised by world criminology? ■

FOOTNOTES

[1]Falk, Richard A., *This Endangered Planet,* 1971; Sorokin, 1941; Boulding, 1965; Gurr, 1970; Meadows, 1972.
[2]Fabun, 1967
[3]Fabun, 1967
[4]Alvin Toffler, 1964, 1970
[5]Shoghi Effendi, 1955
[6]H.G. Wells, 1938
[7]Mesarovic and Pestel, 1976
[8]Falk, 1971
[9]Tinberger, 1976
[10]Hoult, 1975
[11]Wagar, 1971
[12]Falk, 1971
[13]Durkheim, 1951
[14]Toynbee, 1948
[15]Wagar, 1971
[16]Sorokin, 1971; Wagar, 1971; Holley, 1956; Borsodi, 1968
[17]Mendlovitz, 1975
[18]Wickwar, 1977
[19]Wickwar, 1977
[20]Mendlovitz, 1975
[21]Toynbee, 1970
[22]Bell, 1971; Falk, 1975; Lakey, 1958; Larson, 1963; Laszlo, 1972; Hollins, 1966

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The most fundamental of all human rights is the right of all human beings to live in peace and dignity without the constant fear and threat of imminent extinction. Yet, as we approach the twenty-first century, the world continues to face acts of aggression, genocide, apartheid, terrorism and other crimes against humanity. It is a bleak historical record but in the race between civilization and disaster, the eager and discerning eye may still find room for hope.

THE COMING OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORDER

BY BENJAMIN FERENCZ

The history of humankind has been a chronicle of bloodshed and violence among peoples with competing needs, ideologies and aspirations. The contemporary scene merely confirms the historical pattern. The recent invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet military forces was condemned by many States as an act of aggression — the gravest of all international crimes. A Security Council resolution calling for withdrawal of foreign troops was blocked by a Soviet veto. The admonition of a hundred nations was rejected by the USSR.

In Iran, fifty American citizens have been held hostage despite months of effort by the international community. A non-enforceable order by the International Court at the Hague, calling for the immediate release of the captives, has been ignored. An investigative commission appointed by the United Nations was not even allowed to see the prisoners.

In Bogota, the ambassadors from many States were held hostage by other militant groups. The Archbishop of San Salvador was the victim of political murder while saying Mass. Judges and other officials are gunned down regularly in Italy and Spain. Terrorists find easy asylum in friendly foreign States. In underdeveloped lands and areas of conflict millions of innocent persons face starvation while limited planetary resources are squandered on armaments that cannot ensure the peace. Surely something is dangerously awry in the international legal order.

In the face of the calamitous historical record one might be tempted to conclude that the ingrained practices of the past are inexorable and unalterable. But I am not ready to believe that humankind is destined to self-destruction. People can and must learn to settle their differences legally rather than lethally.

The many peoples who inhabit the earth are in varying stages of economic, social and political development. The infinite variety of their problems and needs must inevitably give rise to international ferment and conflict. It is vital for humankind that such conflicts be settled peacefully. The creation of an effective peace keeping machinery is thus of consumate importance. Global ethics must supplant national ethics. If society could agree upon a code establishing minimum standards of international behavior, and upon a court whose judgments would be enforced, it would be as significant to maintaining international peace as legal codification, adjudication and enforcement are to protecting the tranquillity of every independent national State. But there can be no peace without justice, no justice without law, and no meaningful law without a court to decide what is just and lawful under any given circumstance.

There is no State in the world that does not have a system of domestic criminal law to help maintain the tranquility of its national society. Those who violate the established code of conduct are subject to sanctions in the name of the community whose peace has been disturbed. In contemporary international society no such system exists. Sovereign States are bound only by such restraints as they may willingly accept. They can and do arrogate to themselves the authority to act in any way they see fit to protect their own national interests. The General Assembly of the United Nations is a political and consultative body with no enforcement powers. The International Court of Justice can sit in judgment only on such disputes as States may voluntarily submit to it. There is no international court with jurisdiction to deal with international crimes or international criminals.

In a world torn by upheaval and ferment there is clearly need for a new system to help maintain international law and order. New norms of international behavior are being born. There is a growing recognition that all human beings, regardless of race, color, creed or location, should be entitled to certain fundamental and minimum standards of life.

Thus, the destruction, waste or withholding of resources needed to sustain human existence may, one day, be prohibited as a criminal act. So too, endangering the environment, or violating disarmament agreements, or refusing to settle disputes by arbitration, adjudication or other peaceful means, should also be outlawed as crimes for which States and individuals may be held to account. Consideration of new norms has already begun, and in time, there will have to be plans for the establishment of new mechanisms for interpreting and enforcing the new international legal standards.

Acts that cause death and suffering on an international scale must be prohibited as international crimes against world order. Progress has already been made toward the establishment of a more effective juridical system. However, much work remains to be done. New institutions capable of resolving obdurate problems should not be expected to spring to life full-grown. The effort to define international crimes is less than a century old — hardly a blink in the eye of time. The fact that great difficulties still lie ahead is no reason for inaction. Quite the contrary — the sooner the problems are faced the sooner they will be resolved. It is my thesis that it is possible to replace the law of force by the force of law.

THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL LAW

Since humans first took to the sea in ships certain acts have been condemned as international crimes against humankind. The pirate was subject to punishment wherever he was apprehended. Those engaged in the slave trade often faced a similar fate. The supremacy of the principle of law was imbedded in the very conception of the United States, and the young nation would soon inspire new concepts in the old world. When the thirteen colonies declared their independence in 1776, they agreed to be bound in a Federation with a single Supreme Court that would adjudicate disputes between the States.

The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 looked to compulsory jurisdiction of arbitration tribunals to replace the armaments race among opposing Powers, but their efforts failed, and the principle remaining alternative was to continue to settle their differences by armed combat. The need for an international tribunal was recognized, but sovereign States, steeped in the tradition of war, were not ready to entrust their vital interests to the decision of any impartial third body. The price for their folly was paid by inordinate suffering and by the lives of the ten million soldiers and ten

million civilians killed in the first World War.

The end of the "war to make the world safe for democracy" brought forth a renewed public outcry for an improved world order. Victors and victims demanded that those who had caused the war and violated humanitarian codes of warfare should be tried as criminals. A Permanent Court of Justice was planned to settle future disputes among States. The hopes for a better world were to rest on the twin pillars of a League of Nations and the rule of law.

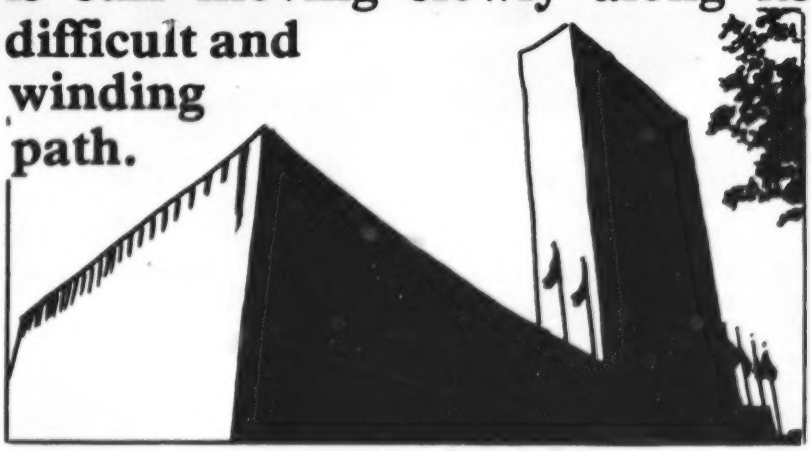
In fact, the planned trial of the Kaiser for having initiated wars of aggression was never carried out — despite the clear obligations of Articles 228, 229 and 230 of the Versailles Treaty. War crimes trials, held in 1921 in the Criminal Chamber of the Reich court at Leipzig, charging German commanders with atrocities, turned out to be a farce. In the U.S. Senate an isolationist minority prevented the United States from becoming a member of the League. The new International Court that was finally created lacked the compulsory jurisdiction to settle the disputes that might lead to war. The edifice for a new world order was built on pillars made of sand.

U.S. Secretary of State Elihu Root, and many other distinguished experts recommended, in 1920, that a High Court of International Justice be created "to try crimes against international public order and the universal law of nations." The proposal was brushed aside by diplomats trained to focus primarily on the immediate interests of their own country.

The Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 was ratified by almost all nations. It purported to outlaw war as a means of settling disputes, but it left each State free to decide for itself when it could legally resort to self-defense of its own vital interests. Despite the world-wide economic depression of the late 1920's, there was little recognition that new international perceptions were required.

The 1934 assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia by Croatian nationalists brought forth a world-wide demand that terrorism be punishable by an international court. When the self-styled "civilized States" assembled for that purpose, the desire for unanimity meant that the most conservative views would ultimately prevail. It was easier to adhere to the past than to embark on

International Society is still an undeveloped community and it is still moving slowly along its difficult and winding path.



new experiments. By 1937 passions had cooled, and India was the only State to ratify the Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism.

Hitler's defiance of treaty obligations, Italy's aggression against Ethiopia, Germany's invasions of its neighbors and the Soviet invasion of Finland brought little more than verbal denunciation by States too frightened to organize in any effective way to preserve the peace. The inability to act collectively in imposing economic or military sanctions led to the disintegration of the League that had been created to maintain the peace. Nations should have learned from the first world war that military alliances could not prevent combat and that without an enforcement mechanism, rules of warfare could not prevent atrocities. Refusal to suppress terrorism could only encourage terrorism and unwillingness to block aggression could only stimulate further aggression. Having failed to learn the lessons of the past, nations would soon begin to list world wars by Roman numerals.

World War II brought fifty-seven "independent States" into armed conflict. The enormity of the losses and the misery endured between 1939 and 1945 by countless millions can never be calculated. At least fifteen million combatants were killed. "Total War" became a new concept in which all humanitarian considerations were subordinated to the drive for victory. Nations that sought power and glory ended in ruins. Six million Jews were either worked to death or sent helplessly to gas chambers for extermination and cremation, in factories erected for the sole purpose of consuming human beings. Nazi opponents of all nationalities and religions were tortured and imprisoned. Three million Soviet prisoners died in captivity. By the time the war was over, man had learned to immolate whole cities with atomic bombs that could destroy all living things and damage the genes of future generations.

Once more victorious nations assembled to plan for a new international organization of States. Once more there were demands that those responsible for aggression and atrocities be placed before an international criminal court. Under American stimulus the four Allied powers agreed to create an International Military Tribunal for the trial of Axis war criminals. It was never intended that the Nuremberg court should serve merely as a mask of justice to hide the face of vengeance. Nor was it conceived as a legal instrument to enshrine the *status quo* in a changing world. The Nuremberg Charter, drawing upon historical precedents, was to mark a step forward in the codification and development of international law. Legal precepts that had slowly been evolving were to be reconfirmed, and a new era of humanity was to be encouraged.

The Nuremberg judgments made it clear that the massive abuse by a State of its own citizens was the legitimate concern of all humankind. The concept of "crimes against humanity" became a living legal reality because sovereign

States had become perpetrators of outrageous assaults against human beings, including their own nationals. Those who were persecuted because of their ethnic origin, religion or political persuasion were promised the protection of the community of States by punishment of the offenders, regardless of their rank or station. The Nuremberg trials were also to confirm that launching a war of aggression was punishable by the international community, that superior orders would be no excuse for murder and cruelty, and that even the Head of State would be answerable to all of humankind for major acts of inhumanity that offended the human conscience. The war crimes trial at Tokyo followed the Nuremberg precedent.

The Nuremberg principles were affirmed by the General Assembly of the new United Nations in Resolution 95 (I) of 11 Dec. 1946, and people were encouraged to believe that a universal rule of law was on the horizon. The U.N. Charter called for an International Court of Justice but, unfortunately, States were still unwilling to invest it with the necessary binding authority to resolve disputes that might lead nations to war. Further, no criminal jurisdiction against individuals was provided for. Jurists were beginning to recognize that certain acts of international immorality should be treated as international crimes, but it was only a beginning. American Ambassador Bernard Baruch proposed that any violation of an agreement to control atomic energy be punished as an international crime. The world is still paying for its failure to accept that sage advice.

The General Assembly, in Resolution 260 (III) of 9 Dec. 1948, confirmed that genocide was a crime under international law, but nations were unwilling to create any international court to deal with the offense. Traditions that had endured for thousands of years could not be erased quickly, and it would take time to gain acceptance for new values and concepts, before new institutions for the maintenance of world peace could win widespread acceptance.

NEW LIGHTS ON THE HORIZON

At the end of 1948, a renewed determination to protect those who were oppressed inspired the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The European Convention on Human Rights, signed in 1950, contained the dramatic innovation of a **European Court of Human Rights** where individuals could hold even their own governments to account before an international tribunal. It demonstrated that sovereign States could voluntarily agree to surrender a portion of their sovereignty in order that certain fundamental rights might be protected in a court of law. It would serve as a model for the creation of a similar court in South America in 1979.

An International Law Commission of independent experts was appointed by the General Assembly to draw up a statute listing acts that should be treated as offenses against the peace and security of humankind. In their 1950 report (General Assembly Off. Records: Fifth Sess. Supp. 12 A/1316), they recognized that a code would have to go hand in hand with a court capable of enforcing it. But the outbreak of hostilities in Korea brought the super-powers into confrontation, and plans and hopes for the development of an international law of peace were put into the deep-freeze for the duration of the cold war.

A distinguished lawyer and diplomat, Ricardo Alfaro of Panama, expressed the views of many legal experts when he said:

"If the rule of law is to govern the community of States and protect it against violations of the international public order, it can only be satisfactorily established by the promulgation of an international penal code and by the permanent functioning of an international criminal jurisdiction."

The vast majority of the International Law Commission agreed that an international judicial organ was both possible and desirable, but many powerful States, including the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States, were still not prepared to surrender any part of their sovereignty to any impartial agency.

While the idea of an international peace code and an international criminal court remained on ice, the U.N. began to recognize new international crimes. The General Assembly condemned racial discrimination, apartheid, and violations of "economic and political rights of the indigenous population" in South Africa, as "crimes against humanity." Other violations of human rights were also beginning to be characterized as criminal acts. When aerial piracy threatened the safety of civil aviation it was denounced as an international crime. Although enforcement machinery was still lacking, acts of politically-motivated terrorism again evoked demands for a punitive international response. The Vietnam war and the atrocities it evoked brought calls for retribution and challenged whether any nation was competent to judge the legality of its own acts. It was only when that war was winding down that the warming breezes of detente began to thaw the ideas for an international court that had been frozen for nearly two decades.

Formulation of a code of offenses against peace had been stymied by the absence of any agreed definition of what acts would constitute the crime of aggression. Until the code was ready no court was required, and thus there was a convenient excuse for international inaction. In 1973, a definition of aggression was finally adopted by consensus of the General Assembly. Some States insisted that the definition could not restrain the use of force by those seeking self-determination or freedom from alien domination. Although it contained such loopholes, the presence of a definition eliminated the stated obstacle to further work on an international criminal code and an international criminal court.

On the 25th anniversary of the U.N., the Secretary-General, decrying acts of aerial hijacking, called for "an international tribunal defending the interests of all peoples and nations." Those who sought to justify the use of force pointed to the misery and frustration that gave rise to acts of violence. In their view, every conceivable means was legitimate to overthrow what they perceived to be a form of terrorism by the oppressive State.

The absense of any clear agreement by the international community setting forth what acts would not be permissible, regardless of the nobility of the goal, and the failure to create any independent agency to determine whether there had been a violation of the agreed standard of conduct, could only lead to additional acts of violence. The victims would describe the deeds as criminal terrorism, and the perpetrators would hail their own actions as justified by the struggle for freedom, self-determination, national liberation or some other apparently laudable objective. One person's terrorism was another person's heroism, and without a code and a court, there was no way of determining which was which.

Many statesmen were beginning to recognize that if there was to be a peaceful international community the conduct of all groups, be they countries, militants or corporations, would have to conform to moral standards that were acceptable to the commonwealth of humankind.

A group of twenty "eminent persons" began to prepare a code of conduct for multi-national corporations, and its work formed the basis for a U.N. Commission on Transnational Corporations that, according to ECOSOC Res. 1913 (LVII) of 5 December, 1974, was to meet annually and report to the Economic and Social Council of the U.N. These activities, admittedly still fraught with controversy, evidenced the beginning of a new sense of corporate morality that was to be imposed via a code of conduct established by the international community.

In 1973, in Resolution 3068 (XXVIII), ninety-one States declared apartheid to be an international crime "irrespective of the motive involved." Thus, for certain offenses the loopholes were to be closed, but not for all international crimes.

A Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, Resolution 3166 (XXVIII), was adopted by consensus at the end of 1973. The draft that had been prepared by the International Law Commission stipulated that offenders were to be extradited or tried by the arresting State "without exception whatsoever." Furthermore, the outcome of such trials was to be reported to the Secretary-General for public dissemination.

Most states would have accepted the ILC draft, but at the last moment a new clause was added, exempting from its restrictions, "peoples struggling against colonialism, alien domination, foreign occupation, racial discrimination and apartheid in the exercise of their legitimate rights to self-determination and independence." In order to reach consensus, the exculpatory provisions were adopted. Some groups were unwilling to see that if the means employed to attain a just goal failed to respect human life, all of humankind would live in jeopardy. Diplomats, having agreed to undercut the Convention to Protect Diplomats, should not have been surprised to find themselves among the victims.

The Conventions that gave the appearance of controlling international lawlessness, such as the Friendly Relations Declaration, (Res. 2625 (XXV), 24 October, 1970), the Hijacking Conventions of Tokyo in 1963 and Montreal in 1971, the Convention to Protect Diplomats of 1973 and the 1974 definition of aggression, all contained opaque clauses that allowed nations to interpret the consensus agreements in ways that would best suit their own particular goals.

The Convention Against the Taking of Hostages, (Res. 34/146), that was adopted by consensus in December 1979 contained a general condemnation of the crime but left the same old loopholes, exempting those who seek self-determination by every available means. A Convention to Prevent International Terrorism, (Res. 34/145), is still in the drafting stage while nations and groups argue about their different perceptions of permissible and impermissible international behavior.

It might have been anticipated that although terrorism would be condemned in principle, the failure to agree in substance and the unwillingness to create any enforcement mechanism would mean that the crime would not be deterred. The humanitarian right of asylum from *per*secution was being distorted to grant asylum from *pro*secution to those who had disregarded all humanitarian considerations.

Failure to act effectively against terrorism produces more terrorism. Inability to stop aggression stimulates new aggression. As long as sovereign States are not prepared to take the steps logically required to produce an international system to restrict the use of violence, the existing international anarchy can be expected to continue. Yet there are many positive signs that the old order is changing.

The lights of progress flicker and grow dim from time to time, but as one studies the historical evolution of ideas, there can be little doubt that the general trend illuminates a brighter future. The very fact that the subjects are being debated is itself an encouraging sign. It proves that unbridled sovereignty is being replaced by a determination to find solutions to problems that are now recognized to be the legitimate concern of the entire family of nations.

A BRIGHTER FUTURE

In only the past quarter of a century the world has witnessed the dissolution of a colonial system that carried within it the seeds of its own destruction. This major upheaval of international society brought many new States into being, eliminated the automatic majorities formerly commanded by the western world and fragmented the structure of the United Nations. Within the newly developing nations, rival religious, ethnic, political or regional factions fought to obtain power or control. They demanded a more equitable share of the bounty enjoyed by the developed world. Their political allegiances became the target of competing social systems — one stressing the civil and political rights of individual freedom, and the other focusing on economic stability and the security of the State.

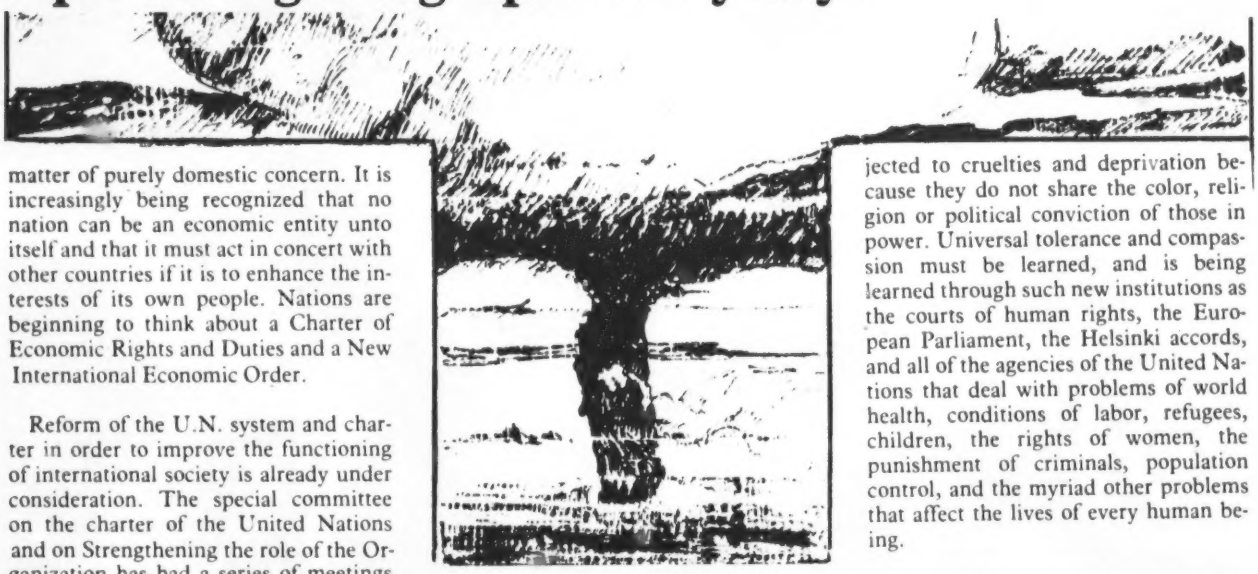
Both superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, sought a world order based on their own models. It is not surprising that in the search for accommodation, there have been pitfalls and setbacks. International society is still an undeveloped community, and it is moving slowly along its difficult and winding road. Nevertheless in the struggle between socialism and capitalism we must not allow humanism to become the victim.

As we scan the horizon, in the fields of economics, human rights and law, significant progress is clearly visible. The worst excesses of laissez-faire economics have gradually been reduced. Many States now tax a portion of private and corporate wealth according to ability to pay for the common welfare. The dispute is not whether there should be State controls but the extent of those controls.

A multitude of international agencies have been created to cope with the economic needs of the underdeveloped regions. The efforts to deal with the world's monetary system, development loans, transfer of technology, the conduct of multi-national corporations, the elimination of trade barriers, and the creation of norms of economic behavior, all reflect the growing movement toward cooperation among States.

International economic problems are far from being resolved, but they are increasingly being dealt with on a worldwide basis. The distribution of natural and national resources is no longer a

The creation of an international court was debated in meticulous detail at the United Nations over twenty years ago, but the "time was not yet ripe." It's getting riper every day.



matter of purely domestic concern. It is increasingly being recognized that no nation can be an economic entity unto itself and that it must act in concert with other countries if it is to enhance the interests of its own people. Nations are beginning to think about a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties and a New International Economic Order.

Reform of the U.N. system and charter in order to improve the functioning of international society is already under consideration. The special committee on the charter of the United Nations and on Strengthening the role of the Organization has had a series of meetings since being established in 1975, and has made a number of proposals for strengthening the U.N. system.

The rising cost of armaments, estimated at over a billion dollars a day, is directly related to the economic problems of the world. Admittedly, the cost of defense is consuming the very resources needed to diminish the privation that gives rise to the threats that jeopardize the social order. Yet agreements have been reached in areas that could never have been imagined even a few years ago. United Nations Peace-Keeping Forces have played an important peace-keeping role in Egypt, Lebanon and other parts of the world as reported by the Secretary-General in his report of Sept. 11, 1979 (A/34/1). Treaties have banned the testing of nuclear weapons in outer-space and on the ocean floor. Non-Proliferation treaties are in force. A new treaty seeks to govern the activities of States on the moon and other celestial bodies. Despite the current difficulties with Salt II, the efforts to limit strategic arms have made some progress even though they are far from adequate. It will take time but people are slowly coming to realize that unless we destroy all weapons of mass destruction the weapons will destroy us all.

Growing awareness of the link between economic and human rights can be seen in other dramatic developments of recent years. It was only in 1967 that Arvid Pardo of Malta gave expression to the inspiring dream that the resources of the ocean should be used as "the common heritage of humankind" so that its immense wealth could benefit those most in need. It now appears that there is growing support for a Common Heritage Fund, for a Sea-Bed Authority and for an advanced dispute-settlement system through judicial-type procedures. It is expected that a Law of the Sea Treaty will be adopted by most of the nations in the world in the not too-distant future. If such substantial progress can be recorded regarding governance of four-fifths of the surface of the planet can the remaining one-fifth be far behind?

States are learning that the voluntary surrender of part of their sovereignty is not only in their own interest but is also an essential prerequisite for a peaceful life in the 21st century. New values of caring and sharing will have to be learned as part of the process of adapting national needs to international needs. Today, too often, slogans replace reason and politics displaces principle. Too often innocent persons are subjected to cruelties and deprivation because they do not share the color, religion or political conviction of those in power. Universal tolerance and compassion must be learned, and is being learned through such new institutions as the courts of human rights, the European Parliament, the Helsinki accords, and all of the agencies of the United Nations that deal with problems of world health, conditions of labor, refugees, children, the rights of women, the punishment of criminals, population control, and the myriad other problems that affect the lives of every human being.

None of these new programs is complete. People are still persecuted and millions still cry for their fair share of humanity. But the significant change in recent years is the widespread recognition that evil and intolerable conditions should be changed. Moral obligations widely acclaimed have a way of eventually attracting sufficient public support to make flouting them a perilous adventure for any government.

The Road Ahead

Legal agreements and law provide the framework within which international society balances its inconsistent and conflicting interests. In an interdependent world there are limits to the extent that any group can determine its own destiny. A legal system that allows the parties to interpret the law as they see fit is unworthy of respect because it is no system at all. Until all people are secure in their rights no people will be secure.

The Nuremberg Tribunals held forth the promise that all people would, in future, be accountable to the law, and that aggression and crimes against humanity would not go unpunished. Many acts were condemned as international crimes but no permanent international court was ever created to punish the guilty.

Efforts to extend the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court at the Hague have been intensified but that court has no authority over individuals or their crimes. The creation of an international criminal court was debated in meticulous detail at the United Nations over twenty years ago, but the "time was not yet ripe." It's getting riper every day.

The United Nations has on its agenda for the end of 1980 the long-delayed *Code of Offenses against the Peace and Security of Mankind.* The fundamental rights and duties of States will have to be reconsidered. The parties will have to think about providing compulsory and binding authority to an international criminal court as well as more effective procedures for international law enforcement.

National security of States depends not on weapons that are suicidal but upon the peaceful, just and binding settlement of conflicts. It is not a matter of idealism but of self-interest and survival. As nations resume the debate about a code for peace and a court to enforce it they will, hopefully, begin to understand each other better. Even if, as is to be expected in these formative years, the resolutions seeking to define international crimes against world order are faulty or ignored, the process of debate and drafting will be a learning experience. Learning is the beginning of wisdom, and wisdom, not force, is the road to enduring peace.

CONCLUSION

No one can say with certainty whether civilization will win its race with disaster. Without law and order in international affairs there will be chaos. Despair is not a viable alternative to hope, and, at the risk of being branded an optimist, I have noted the movement, however hesitant, toward universal human standards that are slowly beginning to supplant the selfish sovereignty that has governed this planet for centuries. The next two decades will see changes that are today unforseeable. New mechanisms will be created to cope with international crimes that now disrupt international society and its inhabitants. It may be anticipated that the technology that brought men to the moon and created the awesome capability of thermonuclear annihilation will, some day, be applied to the cause of peace. Those who cherish life on earth must encourage governments and decision-makers to act in accordance with humanitarian rather than political considerations. Those who yearn for the welfare of all human beings must combine their efforts in a vast multinational network of like-minded individuals and organizations to replace the existing values of violence and greed with new rules for a more just and tranquil world community, where law and order is the practice rather than only a distant dream. ■

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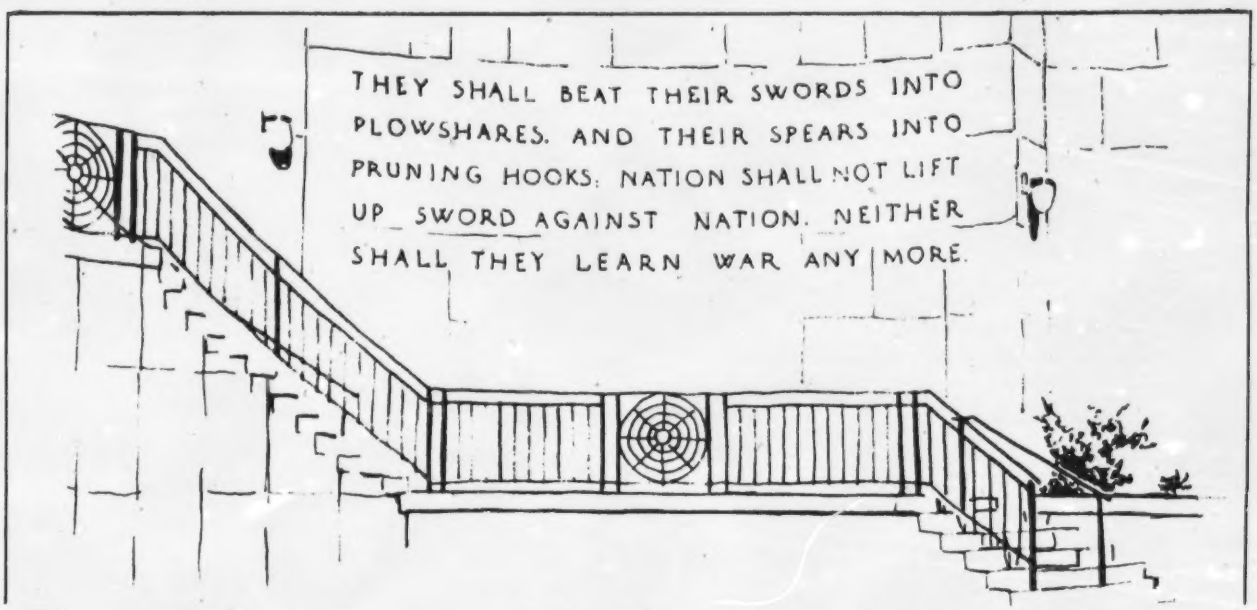
THEY SHALL BEAT THEIR SWORDS INTO
PLOWSHARES. AND THEIR SPEARS INTO
PRUNING HOOKS. NATION SHALL NOT LIFT
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SHALL THEY LEARN WAR ANY MORE.

The national security of States depends not on weapons that are suicidal but on the peaceful, just and binding settlements of conflicts. It is not a matter of idealism but of self-interest and survival.

Existing Mechanisms for International Law and Order

	Weaknesses
The United Nations	No legislative authority Politically oriented Veto-power of Security Council inhibits action
The International Court of Justice	Only States can appear No compulsory jurisdiction No enforcement powers
The International Military Tribunals of Nuremberg and Tokyo	Victors tried vanquished Ad hoc courts, now dissolved
U.N. Peacekeeping Forces	Reguires States' consent Must await conflict situation
Courts of Human Rights	Regional competence only Jurisdiction restricted to human rights violations Binds only participating State

New Mechanisms Needed to Correct Weaknesses

A Code of offenses against Peace and Security
An International Criminal Court to determine violations of the code
An enforcement mechanism to carry out the orders of the court.

Generally Recognized International Crimes are presently defined under three categories:

1.) Acts of Aggression (i.e., acts of invasion across national borders.)
2.) War Crimes (i.e., violations of the existing rules of war.)
3.) Crimes Against Humanity (presently defined as including genocide, apartheid, crimes against diplomats, the taking of hostages, terrorism.)

The U.N. will consider at the end of 1980 or early 1981 a new draft "Code of Offenses Against Peace and Security of Mankind."

Walter Hoffmann is national chairman of The Campaign for U.N. Reform, Vice-President of The World Federalists Association, and chairman of the Arms Control and Disarmament Committee of the American Bar Association. He assisted Senator McGovern's office in drafting Section 503 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1978 and he has worked closely with the State Department's Task Force on Reforming and Restructuring the U.N. System. He is currently working on a book on U.N. reform.

UN REFORM:

No one nation by itself can any longer provide its citizens with

1. security from war and devastation
2. an environment free from pollution of the atmosphere above it or the waters around it,
3. a stable and prosperous industrialized economy, or
4. freedom from excessive taxation caused primarily by the global arms race.

The nation state, like the feudal system of old, has become obsolete. What is needed is a global system to unite the world and to provide its peoples with effective institutions to attack its many global problems.

The only worldwide institution we have now is the United Nations system. The U.N. system, however, has failed to fill this need. Many current world problems can be traced to the weakness and ineffectiveness of the present U.N. structure, which is bogged down by the veto in the Security Council and stymied by the inequitable one nation-one vote policy in the General Assembly. The system lacks any specific mediation or arbitration procedures. It has a world court that is seldom used. It has no authority to compel disarmament. It lacks stable and adequate finances.

The weakness and failure of the U.N. system is the central fact about world affairs today. Because of this U.N. weakness, nations have sought a false sense of security by building more and more armaments. Security based on national arms is false because sooner or later someone — a madman, an eyeball-to-eyeball leader, or a jumpy general with his hand on the trigger — will precipitate a nuclear attack that will escalate into the devastation of most, if not all, of the planet.

There is a viable way to stop this catastrophe — and that is by reforming and improving the U.N. system. A few steps have recently been taken toward U.N. reform which have received little attention in the media. The purpose of this paper is to outline what they are.

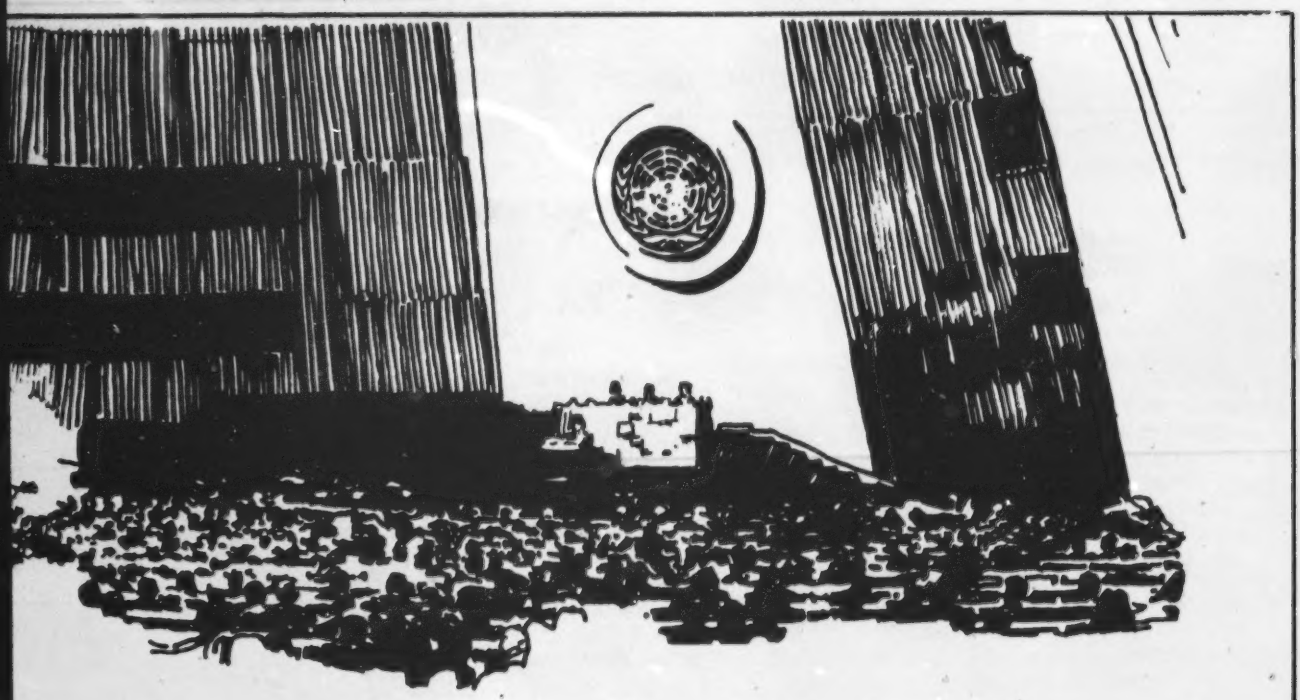
Current Progress

The Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1978, adopted by Congress in August, 1977, contained a rider[1] which mandated a "major" United States effort "toward reforming and restructuring the United Nations system." The rider further provided that the United States should present a "program for United Nations reform" to a Special United Nations Committee, and required President Carter to report to Congress by January 31, 1978 on his recommendations for U.N. reform.

The rider was sponsored by Howard Baker, the Republican Minority Leader in the Senate, and by George McGovern, the 1972 Democratic Presidential nominee. The State Department officially opposed the adoption of the amendment as being unnecessary. It stated that President Carter was already interested in U.N. reform and restructuring and would keep Congress informed of his progress. The Senate and House conferees, however, insisted on the Baker-McGovern rider.

In early 1976, candidate Jimmy Carter had pledged, in his first major foreign policy speech to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, that his Administration would "make a major effort at reforming and restructuring the U.N. systems." That language appeared in candidate Carter's position paper on "The U.S., the U.N. and World Order" and was later incorporated into the Democratic Platform which was billed as a "Contract with the People."

In early 1977, the new Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, C. William Maynes, did establish a special task force within the State Department to develop U.S. proposals for the reform of the United Nations. After Congress passed the Baker-



THE TASK AHEAD

BY WALTER HOFFMAN

The weakness and failure of the UN system is the central fact about world affairs today.

McGovern rider, that task force went to work preparing the President's recommendations for U.N. reform. The rider itself required the President to "give appropriate consideration" to various proposals for U.N. reform, including these areas:

1. adjusting the voting structure;
2. fostering greater use of the International Court of Justice;
3. supplementing U.N. finances;
4. expanding U N. human rights activities;
5. establishing more effective machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes through mediation and arbitration;
6. adjusting assessment scale calculations; and
7. providing greater coordination of the U.N. Development Program.

Carter's Report

President Carter's Report on the Reform and Restructuring of the U.N. System was submitted to Congress on March 2, 1978.[2] In its introduction, the President said: "A central concern of U.S. foreign policy must be to build a stronger and more effective U.N. system." The major recommendations in the report are as follows:

- A U.N. Peacekeeping Reserve composed of national contingents.
- A U.N. Peacekeeping Fund in the order of $100 million.
- U.S. Offer to airlift U.N. peacekeeping troops and equipment.
- Future effort by the Administration to repeal the Connally Reservation.
- Permitting national appellate courts to request Advisory Opinions from the International Court of Justice.
- Autonomous sources of income for U.N. system.
- Associate status for new small states.
- Treating creation of fact-finding missions as procedural, not subject to veto.
- Giving substantially greater weight to U.N. decisions arrived at by consensus.
- No prospect for weighted voting.
- Veto curtailment not in U.S. interest.
- Examination of peaceful settlement mechanisms.

If the United Nations is to be a more effective institution for resolving disputes, the procedures for conciliation, mediation and arbitration should be spelled out in greater detail and the role of the international Court of Justice should be strengthened.

- A U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- Improved central management of U.N. economic system.
- UNDP as major channel for U.S. contributions for technical assistance.
- Prepare to participate in Charter Review Conference if majority deem it likely to be productive.
- annual meetings of foreign ministers to review Secretary General's reports on state of world peace.

Ambassador Andrew Young circulated the President's report to every delegation at the United Nations. A special task force has subsequently been created in the Department of State to implement the report.

The Carter Administration submitted its proposal for a U.N. Peacekeeping Reserve to the Special Session on Disarmament, to the Committee of 33 on Peacekeeping, to the U.N. Political Committee and to the Special U.N. Committee on the Charter. The U.S. also made an effort to get the proposal for a U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights adopted.

In December, 1978, the Democratic Mid-term Convention, meeting in Memphis, praised President Carter for his Report on U.N. Reform and Restructuring, and urged Congress to support his proposals. In 1979, the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations, chaired by Rep. Don Bonker (D.,Wash.) held four days of hearings on the President's Report.[3] The comparable Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee chaired by Senator Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.) held one day of hearings.[4] In addition, the Library of Congress, in October, 1979, issued a special study on the President's report and an analysis of its chances for success.[5]

By the summer of 1980, no less than six resolutions were pending in Congress to implement various aspects of U.N. reform. They were Congressman Bonker's resolution on a U.N. Peacekeeping Reserve,[6] Senator Alan Cranston's (D.,Cal.) resolution urging a procedure to permit national appellate courts to request advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice;[7] a House resolution by Congressman Bingham (D.,N.Y.) and Pritchard (D.,Wash.) to the same effect;[8] Congressman Lester Wolff's (D.,N.Y.) resolution for an International Criminal Court to try international terrorists.[9]

Congressman Fithian's (D.,Ind.) resolution for a U.N. Office of Diplomatic Security,[10] and the resolution of Senator James Sasser (D., Tenn.) to promote a U.N. Diplomatic Security Corps.[11]

Five regional "grass roots" conferences were held on the President's report. They were the Mid-Atlantic Conference at Villanova University in November, 1978; a Midwest Conference at the University of Chicago in May, 1979; a Pacific Coast Conference at the Kaiser Center in Oakland, California in June, 1979; a Connecticut Conference at the University of Bridgeport in May, 1980; and a Southwestern Conference near the University of Southern California in Los Angeles in June, 1980.

In August, 1980, the Democratic Convention included three paragraphs on U.N. reform in its national platform.[12] It called for a major effort toward U.N. reform, endorsed Carter's pledge to request the Senate to re-examine the Connally amendment and his proposal for a U.N. peacekeeping Reserve, and called for new U.N. structures to enhance international disarmament and control international terrorism.

In contrast, the 1980 Republican Platform did not mention the United Nations at all. Efforts by Senator Robert Dole (R.,Kan.) and others to get U.N. reform language into the Republican document were unsuccessful, largely because of the influence of Senator Jesse Helms (R.,N.C.) who apparently wished to show disapproval of the U.N. by omitting all reference to that organization.

U.N. Special Committee

What Republicans and others may not realize is that the United Nations itself has also created a Special Committee of its own considering U.N. reform proposals.

As far back as December, 1974, the United Nations established a forty-two member Ad Hoc Committee on the Review of the Charter. This Committee was expanded in 1975 to forty-seven members and renamed the Special Committee on the Charter and on Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. Since then, the United Nations Committee has received numerous suggestions for the reform and restructuring of the United Nations. They range from a modification of the veto to increasing the role of the International Court of Justice.

In March, 1977, the Committee drafted a report which summarized the pros and cons of the many proposals. Annexed to the Committee's report was a U.N. reform package submitted by sixteen nations, led by Mexico, the Philippines, Colombia and Rumania.

The Committee made snail-like progress in 1978 and 1979. In 1980 at its ses-

sion in Manila, it proposed a Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, debated at length the U.S. proposal for a U.N. Peacekeeping Reserve, and received proposals from some third world nations to modify the veto on certain aspects of peacekeeping.[13]

In 1974, the United States voted against the creation of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Charter on the ground that it felt U.N. Charter reform was premature. With the Carter Administration's report on U.N. Reform, U.N. watchers say the U.S. has turned around on this issue.

Its efforts to implement some of the proposals, particularly in the area of peacekeeping, seem to bear this out. The Campaign for U.N. Reform, however, criticized the Carter Administration for not making U.N. reform a "front burner" high priority item on its foreign policy agenda.[14]

Public opinion polls have indicated that the overwhelming majority of the American people do not want the United States to pull out of the United Nations. Even at the height of feeling against the U.N. immediately after the adoption of the "Zionism is Racism" Resolution, only sixteen percent of the American people, according to a Gallup poll, wanted to pull out of the U.N. The public opinion polls indicate instead that the American public wants to see the United Nations reformed and made more responsible and more effective.

AREAS FOR REFORM

What specific measures for the reform of the U.N. system are desirable? What reforms are possible? These and other questions about the reform of the United Nations deserve the serious attention of the American people.

The United Nations has done much good work, particularly in the economic and social fields. Even the most ardent supporters of the United Nations, however, admit that it has been unable to achieve its goal of "saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

Some U.N. supporters feel that despite this lack of achievement, no reform is really necessary. It has been unable to achieve this goal, these supporters say, because the United Nations is only a league of sovereign states and it is up to the members of the United Nations to act in a peaceful manner and to use the United Nations as a forum for resolving their disputes.

The reformers argue, on the other hand, that the mechanisms of the U.N. system can be greatly improved so that a peaceful resolution of disputes will be more possible. They argue that the United Nations must be given the authority necessary to maintain peace during the dispute-resolution process. They contend further that nations are reluctant to give to the United Nations additional authority under its present voting structure.

Mediation and Arbitration of Disputes

One of the proposals that was part of the sixteen-nation package annexed to the Special U.N. Committee's 1977 report was the proposal of the government of the Philippines to establish a permanent conciliation and arbitration commission.[15] Article 33 of the United Nations Charter refers to conciliation, mediation and arbitration of disputes, but there is no specific procedure in the Charter for moving sequentially from two-party negotiation to greater and greater third-party involvement. The Philippine proposal envisaged a trained mediation and conciliation service, together with an arbitration commission consisting of persons universally respected, such as past Presidents of the General Assembly. If a dispute is unable to be resolved by mediation or conciliation, the Philippine proposal would authorize the Security Council to refer the dispute to the Commission for arbitration.

In 1979, interest was shown in this proposal at the Charter Committee's meeting in Geneva, but general agreement was stated not to be possible.

Role of the International Court of Justice

Under The Philippine proposal, the Security Council would also be authorized to require parties to a dispute to submit the legal aspects of their dispute to the International Court of Justice. At present, the International Court of Justice can only decide a case if both parties to a dispute have consented to the jurisdiction of the Court. The Philippine proposal would empower the United Nations itself to bring cases before the Court in the discharge of its duties. It would also expand the availability of advisory opinions to permit any one nation or any regional organization to request an advisory opinion.

Certainly, if the United Nations is to be a more effective institution for resolving disputes, the procedures for conciliation, mediation and arbitration should be spelled out in greater detail and the role of the International Court of Justice should be strengthened.

The President of the United States can do much to increase the role of the World Court by carrying out his promise to ask the Senate to repeal the Connally reservation. This reservation enables the United States to determine for itself whether or not a matter is within its own domestic jurisdiction or the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. In practice, this Reservation encouraged other countries to adopt similar reservations, which together have the effect of seriously limiting the jurisdiction of the International Court

Peacekeeping

Another area that invites reform is peacekeeping. President Carter's proposals for a Special Peacekeeping Fund and for a U.N. Peacekeeping Reserve are important first steps.

The Charter of the United Nations also envisages a permanent U.N. force of earmarked national contingents. This has never happened. Instead, in times of crisis, the United Nations has assembled ad hoc peacekeeping arrangements. It would not require a Charter amendment to establish a permanent peacekeeping force. Such a proposal was submitted to the United Nations Special Committee in 1975 by the Government of Colombia. In addition to a permanent peacekeeping force, it is urged that fact-finding commissions, peace observation teams and peacekeeping forces should not, in a reformed United Nations, be subject to the consent of the host country, but should instead be subject only to the vote of the Security Council or other body of the United Nations which authorized the particular peacekeeping operation.

One of the problems of U.N. peacekeeping is that there has sometimes been insufficient revenue to support the peacekeeping operation. Some governments, most notably the Soviet Union and France, have refused to pay for added assessments to support peacekeeping operations. Reformers argue

A Case Study for UN Reform

If the UN had a regional Mediation Service that laid the basis immediately for negotiations for the release of the hostages.

If the International Court of Justice had the authority to compel Iran to comply with its order to release the hostages.

If the UN had a standing Peace Force, capable of enforcing the orders of the Security Council and of the International Court of Justice.

If the veto in the Security Council had been modified so that no one nation could block UN sanctions to enforce orders of the International Court of Justice.

that peacekeeping operations should be part of the U.N. regular budget, and in addition, there should be a peacekeeping reserve fund for emergency use. Some reformers suggest that the United Nations needs an independent revenue-raising authority (such as the licensing of deep-sea bed mineral resource exploration) in order to free peacekeeping operations entirely from the danger of national budgetary cutbacks. The Carter Report endorsed the goal of developing autonomous sources of revenue for the international community.

Veto Power

One of the chief obstacles to an effective United Nations in the peacekeeping area has been what many nations have come to refer to as the abuse of the veto power. Accordingly, some nations at the United Nations have submitted proposals to modify the use of the veto. Such provisions include the elimination of the veto with respect to the appointment of fact-finding commissions, the appointment of peace observation teams, and even to the use of interposition forces between warring parties to maintain the status quo.

A proposal made by Colombia would eliminate the veto on the admission of new members.[16] It is Colombia's position that new members should be admitted solely upon their statehood, and if there is a question of whether a given applicant is a legal state, this should be decided by the International Court of Justice and not by the General Assembly or the Security Council.

At the Charter Committee's meeting in Manilla, a group of third world countries proposed that the rules of the Security Council be amended to prohibit the use of the veto in certain situations, such as the employment of interposition forces to maintain the status quo. The Big Powers, however, objected vigorously to such proposals.

The Soviet Union in particular has been adamant in rejecting any modification of the veto. Many persons in the United States, including the Carter Administration, apparently see the veto as a safeguard against Third-World domination of the United Nations. This writer believes that the United States should be willing to discuss a modification of the veto in return for (1) a good arbitration and judicial system wherein the United States or any other minority nation would be able to receive a fair hearing on the merits of a dispute; and (2) some weighted voting on financial matters within the General Assembly.

The United States is reluctant to raise the flag of weighted voting in the General Assembly for fear that this would be considered a confrontation with the Third World, which jealously guards the one nation-one vote privilege. It is submitted that no real authority will be given to the United Nations, however, as long as the General Assembly can ride roughshod over the wishes of the major powers. If the matter were approached on a *quid pro quo* basis, i.e., a relaxation of the veto in the Security Council in return for some kind of weighted voting formula in the General Assembly, the major powers might be willing to cede more authority to the U.N. system.

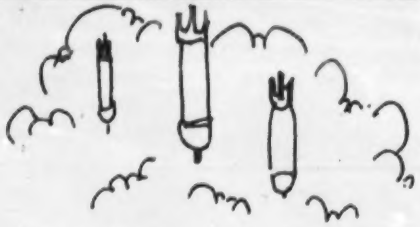
General Assembly Voting System

Richard Hudson, former editor of the War/Peace Report, in an article in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, has made a proposal which is sometimes referred to as the Concurrent Majority Proposal.[17] In order for the United Nations to adopt a measure under the Hudson proposal, it would have to receive the votes of (1) two-thirds of the nations, (2) nations representing two-thirds of the population of the world, and (3) nations representing two-thirds of the total contributions to the United Nations budget. Others have proposed a two-house system similar to that of the United States. The issue of weighted voting should not and cannot be ignored. It should be faced squarely by the Carter Administration and negotiations should be initiated so that a more equitable voting system can be devised which in turn will lead to the granting of greater authority to the United Nations.

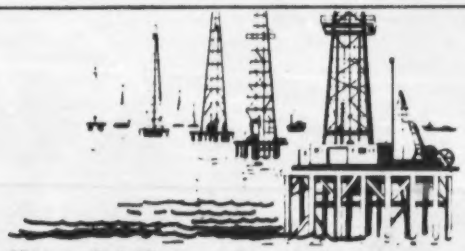
The prolonged crisis in Iran could have been avoided if . . .

If the UN had a High Commissioner for Human Rights who was able to investigate the alleged actions of the Shah in violation of Human Rights Treaties.

If the UN had an International Criminal Court that was able to try aerial hijackers and international terrorists who seized hostages.



If the UN had an International Disarmament Organization able to enforce a general disarmament agreement and prevent the build-up of U.S. and Soviet military forces.



If the UN had a Global Resources Agency that had developed a conservation program to conserve dwindling oil supplies, so that other nations were not so dependent on Iranian oil.

Human Rights

In his address to the U.N. General Assembly in 1977 President Carter called for a strengthening of the United Nations human rights machinery. He endorsed the Costa Rican proposal for a U.N. High Commissioner of Human Rights. Another proposal that has been made to the Special U.N. Committee on the Charter has been to change the name and jurisdiction of the Trusteeship Council to The Trusteeship and Human Rights Council. This would, in effect, raise the Human Rights Commission to the level of a Council.

A third proposal is to create a World Court of Human Rights to function worldwide on the same basis as the European Court of Human Rights. Suffice it to say that if the United Nations is to do more in the area of human rights, its human rights machinery should be strengthened.

Hijacking and Terrorism

Aircraft hijacking and international terrorism have also received the attention of the United Nations. Various treaties have been proposed and adopted. U.N. reformers contend that new institutions are needed to enforce such treaties and to bring about a modicum of law and order on a world level. An interesting concept was adopted in 1978 by the American Bar Association. It has recommended to the Department of State the establishment of an International Criminal Court with jurisdiction limited to the area of hijacking and international terrorism. Specifically, the ABA proposal would base the jurisdiction of such an International Criminal Court on the Hague Convention on hijacking, the Montreal Convention on safety aboard aircraft, and the treaty to prevent crimes against diplomats. A resolution endorsing the ABA proposal is currently before the U.S. Congress.[18]

The concept of an International Criminal Court dates back to the days of the League of Nations. Draft conventions were prepared by U.N. special committees in 1951 and 1953 with jurisdiction extending to war crimes, genocide, and other international crimes. The draft conventions were shelved when the U.N. ran into difficulty in defining the term "aggression" in the companion Code of Offenses against the Peace and Security of Mankind. The ABA recommendation is the first time the International Criminal Court concept has been applied only to hijacking and terrorism.

Coordination of U.N. Economic System

Many critics of the U.N. have targeted what they term to be the wasteful U.N. bureaucracy in the economic and social area. In 1975, a group of 25 high level experts with Professor Richard Gardner of Columbia University as secretary (now serving as U.S. Ambassador to Italy), submitted to Secretary General Waldheim a detailed report to meet these objections. It was entitled "A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Co-operation."[19]

The Gardner report suggested the creation of the post of Director General for Development and International Cooperation, the consolidation of all pre-investment U.N. activity under a single U.N. Development Authority, the reorganization of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, the gradual phasing out of UNCTAD, and the development of a unified personnel system for all U.N. agencies.

The United States endorsed the Gardner report. A special committee at the U.N. was set up to consider it. After deliberating, it recommended the creation of a new post of Director General for Development and International Cooperation. This recommendation was approved by the General Assembly, but some reformers fear that this "reform" was only "eyewash" since no real authority was given to the new position.

Law of the Sea

One area of U.N. reform where

progress may be possible in the near future is the Law of the Sea. Negotiators at the Law of the Sea Conference have been trying to develop agreement on such questions as the extent of national jurisdiction over the oceans, freedom of navigation, and the form of the Enterprise to be developed to exploit the mineral riches of the deep seabed. If a treaty is agreed upon, it will include a new International Regime for the Oceans, which may become the forerunner for reform of the main body of the U.N. itself. The Ocean regime will include provisions for arbitration, and will include a voting structure different from that of the General Assembly and Security Council.

Disarmament

An even more vital area for U.N. reform is in the field of disarmament. U.N. reformers contend that no real disarmament will ever be achieved without the establishment of an effective International Disarmament Organization to supervise and enforce whatever disarmament terms and conditions are finally agreed upon. It is unlikely, they say, that either the United States or the Soviet Union will rely for very long on the good faith of the other to implement arms reductions. Nor is it likely that either side will permit on-site inspection by the other. The only hope for real disarmament, therefore, lies in the creation of an effective and responsible International Disarmament Organization that both sides will permit to verify stages of a future disarmament accord.

The concept of an International Disarmament Organization was incorporated into the McCloy-Zorin agreement of 1961 and was part of both the U.S. and Soviet draft conventions proposed in 1962 and 1963.[20] Unfortunately, however, it has not received much attention in recent arms control negotiations.

Other areas advocated by U.N. reformers include the need for a stronger U.N. environmental program, a stronger International Monetary Fund, and a Global Resources Conservation Program.

Had a U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights been in existence prior to the taking of the hostages in Tehran, it is possible that the charges against the Shah would have been investigated by the U.N. system and tensions defused. Had a U.N. Mediation Service been in existence, it might have mediated the Iranian-U.S. dispute. Had the veto not been available to block enforcement of the orders of the International Court of Justice, sanctions would have been applied. But none of these U.N. reform proposals had been adopted. As a result the U.N. system lacked the strength to resolve these crises.

The events in Iran and Afghanistan during the latter part of 1979 and 1980 demonstrated more clearly than ever before the weaknesses of the U.N. system, and the need for reform. For the most part, the Carter Administration tried to work through the U.N. system. A Security Council resolution requesting Iran to release the hostages went unheeded. An attempt at sanctions was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The U.S. brought its case to the International Court of Justice. A judgment was rendered by the Court in its favor, but that judgment appears to be unenforceable.

In the Afghan crisis, the Soviet veto was avoided by going the "Uniting for Peace" route to the General Assembly, which overwhelmingly condemned the Soviet invasion. No sanctions were applied, however, by the U.N. to enforce its request for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Unilateral efforts for boycotts and embargoes by the U.S. and some western countries proved unsuccessful.

Conclusions

It is easy to become pessimistic about the chances for U.N. reform. It takes time for an idea to jell. The seeds of reform at the U.N. have been planted and they are growing. Painstakingly, the concepts are being debated at the State Department and at the Special U.N. Committee on the Charter.

Whether reform of the U.N. will occur will depend upon the consent of the major powers. The Soviet Union remains adamantly opposed. The Peoples Republic of China is supportive of Third World attempts to modify the veto. The key is the United States, which previously was opposed to U.N. reform, but now has an Administration that is pledged to make "a major effort at reforming and restructuring the U.N. system."

It does not matter whether governments are conservative or progressive, or whether economic systems are capitalist or socialist. People all over the world, must make U.N. reform a major political issue. They must tell their political leaders that building a strong viable effective U.N. system is the most important task they can undertake. They must impress upon their leaders the understanding that the world's problems are too large for any one nation to handle alone and that a strong world organization is necessary to meet the global challenges in the 1980's.

This then is the task ahead — to develop U.N. reform as a major political issue. Even so, U.N. reform will take years of difficult negotiations to accomplish. But we must make this effort, because an effective U.N. system is the only hope that remains for avoiding nuclear disaster.■

Footnotes

[1]Section 503, Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1978

[2]State Department Document No. 95-105

[3]"U.S. Participation in the United Nations and U.N. Reform" Hearing before Subcommittee on International Organizations — June 14, 1979

[4]U.N. Reform Hearing before Comm. on Foreign Relations U.S. Senate — October 26, 1979

[5]Library of Congress Report, October 1979

[6]H. Con. Res. 347 dated May 28, 1980

[7]Senate Concurrent Resolution #85

[8]House Concurrent Resolution #352

[9]House Concurrent Resolution #328

[10]House Concurrent Resolution #286

[11]Senate Concurrent Resolution #58

[12]Pages 111-112, Report of the Platform Committee to the 1980 Democratic National Convention.

[13]Comm. on Charter Report dated Feb. 21, 1980 — Proposals on Maintenance of Peace.

[14]Hearings Before House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations, June 14, 1979, page 50; Hearing Before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Oct. 26, 1979, page 26.

[15]U.N. Document A/Ac. 175/L.2 (part I) pages 94-96

[16]U.N. Document A/Ac. 175/L.2 (part I) pages 68-69

[17]Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, November, 1976

[18]Senate Concurrent Resolution #58

[19]May 1975 United Nations Document E/Ac. 62/9

[20]Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament

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The sphere is each of us and it is all of us together and it is the earth as a whole in the system/mystery that is the universe

The tree is life — our life — becoming what it can be within and dependent on the larger sphere of life.

The contrasting fluid fields of dark and light are the ancient elements: earth and water (dark), air and fire (light).

The dark and light are also the yin and yang of life. They are the opposites which cannot exist apart, and which together are an integral whole. They are the inner and outer dimensions of our humanization — of our shared present and future.

Just as the tree depends on both its rootedness in earth and water and its ability to reach and assimilate air and sunlight, so growth in the outer social order and in the inner spiritual order are both vital aspects of a more fully human future.

The bird winging from its tree home with the fruits of the tree's fulfillment is love, is liberation, is joy, is meaning, is purpose, is the interconnectedness and ongoingness of life, is hope.